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## MISTRESS MARGARET BRENT, SPINSTER.

By JULIA CHERRY SPRUILL.

In the founding of Maryland, as in the establishment of the other southern colonies, women played a significant part. In the new settlements, where the crying needs were for increased population and a stable food supply, mothers and housewives naturally were of great importance. Promoters of colonization wrote in glowing terms of the fecundity of women in the New World and praised their efficiency in domestic matters. Prominent officials commended capable housewives to the Lord Proprietor and interspersed their accounts of political matters with descriptions of their wives' and neighbors' success in preserving, in cheese making, poultry raising and gardening.<sup>1</sup> Among the first letters sent back to England from Maryland was one in 1638 eulogizing a "noble matron" for her domestic virtues.<sup>2</sup> Another epistle from Captain Cornwallis, one of the commissioners of the province, took particular pains to commend to Lord Baltimore the wife of his assistant, Jerome Hawley, "whose industrious housewifery," he declared, "hath so adorned this desert, that should his [her husband's] discouragements force him to withdraw himself and hir, it would not a little eclipse the Glory of Maryland."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Calvert Papers," Maryland Historical Society *Fund Publication*, no. 28, pp. 247, 265-266; John Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," *Narratives of Early Maryland*, edited by Clayton Colman Hall, pp. 293, 296.

<sup>2</sup> "Annual Letters of the Jesuits," *Narratives*, pp. 123-124.

<sup>3</sup> "Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

Not only as "fruitful vines" and skillful housekeepers, however, did women distinguish themselves, but also as landed proprietors and active participants in public affairs. Women heads of families, who were granted lands on the same terms as men, brought in servants, took up large tracts, established plantations, and brought numerous suits against their debtors in the provincial court.<sup>4</sup> Several were active in political struggles. When in the battle between the Puritans and the forces of Governor Stone in 1655 the Governor was wounded and kept "incommunicado," his wife, Virlanda Stone, lest he and his party be misrepresented by Puritan messengers dispatched to present favorable accounts of their actions in England, wrote at once to Lord Baltimore, explaining the political issues and describing the armed conflict from her husband's side.<sup>5</sup> Another Maryland matron to plead her husband's cause before his enemies could "make their owne tale in England" was Barbara Smith, wife of Captain Richard Smith of Calvert County. During the Revolution of 1689, when her husband was imprisoned for refusing to take part with the insurgents, Mistress Smith hurried to England to lay his case before the authorities there.<sup>6</sup>

But the outstanding woman among the early Maryland settlers was not a devoted wife or an eminent housewife, but, as she appears in the records, "Mistresse Margarett Brent, Spinster." This remarkable woman was not only the most conspicuous of her sex, but was one of the most prominent personages in the colony, whose business and public activities filled many pages of court records and suggest a career which the most ambitious of modern feminists might envy. Mistress Brent was of distinguished family<sup>7</sup> and apparently was not

<sup>4</sup> See references to Mary Tranton [also spelled Throughton], Frances White, Winifred Seaborne, Jane Cockshott, and others in "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, V, 166-174, 261-271, 365-374; and "Judicial and Testamentary Business of the Provincial Court, 1637-1650," *Archives of Maryland*, IV, Index.

<sup>5</sup> This letter is given in full in *Narratives of Maryland*, pp. 265-267.

<sup>6</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, 153; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II, 374.

<sup>7</sup> Margaret was one of a large number of children born to Richard and

without means, but as a Catholic she suffered disabilities under the English laws, which at the time were unfriendly to those of her religion. Dissatisfied, perhaps, with the religious persecutions of her family in England, and encouraged by Lord Baltimore's extraordinary offers of land and privileges in Maryland, she decided to emigrate, and, with her brothers Giles and Fulke and her sister Mary, arrived in the province in November, 1638.

Though accompanied by their brothers, the Mistress Brents came on their own ventures, bringing in servants and patenting lands in their own names. That Lord Baltimore considered them particularly desirable as colonists appears in the unusually large grants and special privileges given them. In his "Conditions of Plantation," he had allowed each adventurer transporting as many as *five* men in the year 1633 two thousand acres with manorial rights, and to those bringing in as many as *ten* in the years 1634 and 1635 he offered the same inducements.<sup>8</sup> Though Mary and Margaret Brent did not arrive until four years after the first settlement and then brought less than the required number of servants, they were allowed the same large grants and all the rights and immunities awarded the adventurers who had braved the first voyage.<sup>9</sup>

According to a deposition of April 8, 1661, in which she testified she was aged "Sixty yeares, or thereabouts," Margaret Brent was about thirty-seven years old when she arrived in Maryland. She had probably put aside all thoughts of matrimony and turned her whole attention to establishing an estate and enjoying a career of her own. Besides her lands, houses, and cattle in and about St. Mary's, she acquired considerable possessions on Kent Island. Some idea of the value of this

Elizabeth Reed Brent. Through her maternal grandmother, Katharine Greville Reed, she traced her lineage back to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, sons of King Edward III of England. (John Bailey Calvert Nicklin, "The Calvert Family," *Maryland Magazine*, XVI, 189-190; and "The Brent Family," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XII, 439-440.)

<sup>8</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, 47-49.

<sup>9</sup> "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *op. cit.*, p. 263.



property and the numerous activities she conducted on her plantations may be obtained from an itemized list of damages for which she brought suit in 1648 against Peter Knight, one of the leaders in an insurrection in which she had lost property. She demanded compensation to the value of 30,600 pounds of tobacco, maintaining: first, that the rebels had entered her Kent mill and taken all the profits amounting, according to what the mill had hitherto brought, to three thousand pounds of tobacco, and had taken away all the iron works of the mill, thereby causing it to decay to the loss of ten thousand pounds; second, that they had killed "divers of her cattle" with gun shot and made the rest wild to the damage of eight thousand pounds, had burned her houses valued at six thousand pounds, and had taken away a "wayne and wheele" worth six hundred pounds and a plowgear worth one thousand; and, third, that they had ruined her house, which they had used as a garrison, to the value of two thousand pounds.<sup>10</sup>

As holders of manorial estates, Margaret Brent and her sister had the right to hold courts-baron where controversies relating to manor lands were tried and tenants did fealty for their lands, and courts-leet where residents on their manors were tried for criminal offences. One of the few surviving records of a court-baron is of that held at St. Gabriel's Manor by the steward of Mistress Mary Brent, where the tenant appeared, did "fealty to the Lady," and took possession of thirty-seven acres according to the custom of the manor.<sup>11</sup> Whether Mistress Margaret exercised such feudal rights over her tenants does not appear, but the many references to her in the minutes of the provincial court bear witness to her diligence and perseverance in prosecuting her debtors. Between the years 1642 and 1650 her name occurs no less than one hundred and thirty-four times in the court records, and during these eight years there was hardly a court at which she did not have at least one case. Occasionally she appeared as defendant, but oftener as

<sup>10</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 417.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XLI, 94.



plaintiff, and, it is interesting to know, a majority of these cases were decided in her favor.

Her successful handling of her own affairs probably accounts for her being often called upon to act in behalf of her friends and members of her family. When her brother Fulke returned to England, he gave her a power of attorney to conduct his affairs,<sup>12</sup> and on several occasions she acted for her other brother Giles.<sup>13</sup> As guardian of the little Indian princess, Mary Kittamaquund, daughter of the Piscataway Emperor, she brought suits and collected debts due her,<sup>14</sup> and she also acted as agent for other gentlewomen.<sup>15</sup> Because she so frequently transacted business for others by power of attorney, it has been mistakenly assumed that she was an attorney at law, but no evidence appears to show that she made any claim to membership in the legal profession.

During the first eight years of her residence in Maryland Mistress Brent's energies were exerted largely in the conduct of private business, but rapidly moving events following the civil wars thrust her into a position of great public responsibility and for a time placed in her hands the destiny of the whole colony. Leonard Calvert, the governor, went to England in April, 1643 to consult with his brother, Lord Baltimore, about affairs in the province, and on his return in September, 1644 found the colony on the verge of an insurrection. Led by William Claiborne and Richard Ingle, a band of rebels soon took possession of Kent Island, invaded the western shore, and established themselves at St. Mary's. Governor Calvert with a large number of the Councillors fled to Virginia leaving Maryland in a state of anarchy. Toward the end of 1646 he returned with a small force of Virginians and Maryland refugees, entered St. Mary's and established his authority over the province. But he had hardly restored order when on June 9, 1647, he died, leaving Maryland once more without a strong hand to direct her affairs.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 192, 228.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 259, 264, 265.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 357, 477, 481; X, 28, 49.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 487-488.

<sup>16</sup> William Hand Browne, *Maryland: A History of a Palatinate*, pp. 58-64.

On his deathbed, by a nuncupative will, after naming Thomas Greene to succeed him as governor, he appointed Margaret Brent his executrix with the enigmatical instruction, "Take all and pay all."<sup>17</sup> This appointment was apparently not regarded with surprise or question by his contemporaries, but it has provided a subject for much speculation by historians. Imaginative writers, reading in the records that the dying governor, after making his legal appointments, requested the witnesses to leave the room and was for a while in private conference with Mistress Brent, at once visualized an affair of the heart between the two, but the disillusioning discovery that at the time of making his will Leonard Calvert was married, put an end to this pleasing romance.<sup>18</sup> Later it was believed that the governor's wife was Anne, sister of Margaret Brent, and that because of her close relation to his children he had placed the direction of his affairs in her hands. But this explanation has also been questioned and the real relation between Margaret Brent and Leonard Calvert is still unknown.<sup>19</sup>

Might it not have been that the governor, realizing his estate was greatly involved and his affairs confused, chose Mistress Brent as his executrix, not because of any personal relationship, but because he respected her business ability and felt that she was the person most able to handle the difficult situation he was leaving? Evidently she had acted as his agent on former occasions, for, while he was away in England, she was accused of bringing a suit against his estate to thwart the legal proceedings of one of his creditors and of sending the tobacco she thus recovered to him in London. The person making the accusation was sentenced to imprisonment for defamation, but the court, possibly also suspecting her of secretly saving the property for Calvert, suspended the talebearer's sentence.<sup>20</sup>

With her appointment as executrix of Governor Calvert,

<sup>17</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 314.

<sup>18</sup> *Maryland Magazine*, XVI, 189-190; XXII, 307.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 320; XXII, 307.

<sup>20</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 259, 265.

Margaret Brent's public career began. She was summoned into court to answer numerous suits for his debts and found it necessary to start legal proceedings for sums due his estate. The most urgent matter before her was the satisfaction of debts due the soldiers of Fort Inigoes. Governor Calvert had brought these volunteers from Virginia to help regain the government from the rebels, and, in order to secure their much needed services, had pledged his entire estate and that of the Lord Proprietor to pay them. Before his executrix could complete her inventory, the captain of the fort, on behalf of the soldiers, demanded their back wages and secured an attachment upon the whole Calvert estate.<sup>21</sup>

Mistress Brent now found herself confronting a grave and critical situation. Leonard Calvert's estate was entirely inadequate to meet the demands upon it. The price of corn was soaring higher and higher and famine threatened. Enemies of the existing government were just outside the borders of the province awaiting an opportunity for a new invasion, and the hungry soldiers in the fort, frightened by the rise in prices and the scarcity of food, became unruly and threatened mutiny. Realizing the necessity for prompt and decisive measures, she demanded and obtained a power to act as attorney for the Lord Proprietor and quieted the clamorous soldiers by promising to send to Virginia immediately for corn and by selling enough of the proprietary's cattle to pay them. Thus she rescued the struggling little colony from certain disaster and very probably saved it from all the evils of another civil war.

One of Maryland's historians, commenting upon her courageous handling of this critical situation, suggested that Leonard Calvert might have done better had he reversed his testamentary dispositions and made Margaret Brent governor and Thomas Greene executor.<sup>22</sup> But it was not a day of political rights for women, as Mistress Margaret soon discovered. On January 21, 1647, probably in order to be in a better position to look after the Calvert interests, she went before the assembly

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338.

<sup>22</sup> Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 64.



and demanded a seat, thereby unconsciously distinguishing herself as the first woman in America to claim the right to vote. The minutes of the proceedings for the day state: "Came Mrs Margaret Brent and requested to have vote in the howse for herselfe and voyce allso for that att the last Court 3d: Jan: it was ordered that the said Mrs Brent was to be looked upon and received as his Lordships Attorney. The Governor denied that the sd Mrs Brent should have any vote in the howse."<sup>23</sup> She did not submit quietly to this decision, however, for, according to the record, she protested against all the proceedings in the assembly unless she might be present and vote.

The members of the assembly, while unwilling to allow a woman within the sacred precincts of their divinely ordained sphere, nevertheless appreciated her public services and commended her to the Lord Proprietor. Lord Baltimore, ignorant of the succession of disturbances in his colony, and hearing of the bold manner in which Margaret Brent had taken matters into her own hands and disposed of his cattle, wrote an indignant letter to the assembly complaining of her highhandedness. In answer, the assembly wrote him a long letter describing the calamities and disorders they had suffered and concluding with this justification of their countrywoman: ". . . as for Mrs Brents undertaking and meddling with your Lordships Estate here (whether she procured it with her own and others importunity or no) we do Verily Believe and in Conscience report that it was better for the Collonys safety at that time in her hands than in any mans else in the whole Province after your Brothers death for the Soldiers would never have treated any other with that Civility and respect and though they were even ready at times to run into mutiny yet she still pacified them till at the last things were brought to that strait that she must be admitted and declared your Lordships Attorney by an order of Court (the Copy whereof is herewith inclosed) or else all must go to ruin Again and then the second mischief

<sup>23</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 215.

had been doubtless far greater than the former so that if there hath not been any sinister use made of your Lordships Estate by her from what it was intended and engaged for by Mr Calvert before his death, as we verily Believe she hath not, then we conceive from that time she rather deserved favour and thanks from your Honour for her so much Concurring to the Public safety then to be liable to all those bitter invectives you have been pleased to express against her."<sup>24</sup> Lord Baltimore was not moved by this enthusiastic defense to withdraw his accusations or to express any appreciation of Mistress Brent's services, but from that time on continued distrustful and hostile.

Margaret Brent's fall from grace, however, was not due altogether to her selling the proprietary cattle. She and her family were the victims of a new policy the proprietor was observing to meet the changes in English politics. A shrewd politician, Lord Baltimore warily watched the undercurrents of popular feeling in England, determined to gain the good will of those in power and thereby save his proprietary estates by whatever means he found expedient. Perceiving the rise of the Puritans to power in Parliament, he sought to conciliate them by showing disfavor to prominent Catholics and granting concessions to Protestants in Maryland. He replaced Thomas Greene, the Catholic governor, with William Stone, a partisan of the Puritans, and reorganized the Council so that Protestants had a majority in the upper house.<sup>25</sup> As an expression of his unfriendliness to Margaret Brent, he wrote a letter to the new governor confirming the sale of all his estate made after the death of his brother up until April, 1649 but making a conspicuous exception in the case of any part which at that date remained in Margaret Brent's hands or had been disposed of at any time to her brother or sister.<sup>26</sup>

Deprived of the Maryland proprietor's favor, the Brents moved down to Westmoreland County in Virginia where they

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216-217.

<sup>25</sup> Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland*, p. 93.

<sup>26</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 316-317.

patented land and established a plantation, giving it the significant name "Peace." There they continued to import servants and take up large tracts of lands. They evidently had no intention of ever returning to Maryland, but meant to identify themselves wholly with the Virginia Colony. Mistress Brent, in a business letter to Governor Stone July 22, 1650, expressed a desire not to be further involved in Maryland affairs, declaring: "[I] would not intangle my Self in Maryland because of the Ld Baltemore's disaffections to me and the Instrucccons he Sends agt us."<sup>27</sup> This hope was apparently realized, for after 1651 her name did not appear in the Maryland records.

While she was not prominent in public affairs in Virginia, she continued active in the management of other people's business affairs as well as her own. By a deed recorded April 17, 1654, her brother Captain Giles Brent, about to set out for England, conveyed to her his whole estate in Virginia and Maryland in consideration of her promise to support his wife and educate and maintain his children.<sup>28</sup> For a while it was believed that she was the heroine of a romantic episode mentioned in the archives, but a careful reading of the records proved the Margaret Brent mentioned to be a servant maid,<sup>29</sup> and the finding of her will, dated December 26, 1663,<sup>30</sup> proves beyond a doubt that Maryland's most notable woman lived all her days as "Mistress Margaret Brent, Spinster."

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### MARYLAND AND THE EARL OF LOUDON.

By PAUL H. GIDDENS.

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While Indians were perpetrating all kinds of atrocities upon the panic-stricken frontiersmen of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania during the summer and fall of 1755, William

<sup>27</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, X, 104.

<sup>28</sup> *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVI, 211; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, IV, 40.

<sup>30</sup> *Virginia Magazine*, XVI, 98-99.

<sup>29</sup> *Maryland Magazine*, II, 379.



Shirley, Braddock's successor as commander-in-chief, asked the various colonies to send commissioners to New York to discuss plans for a spring campaign against the French and Indians.<sup>1</sup> Feeling that his Assembly would not comply with the request, Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland set out for New York alone. There on December 12th and 13th, 1755, Governors Shirley, Hardy, Sharpe, Morris, and Fitch, Colonel Dunbar, Majors Charles Craven, James Kinnear, John Rutherford, and Sir John St. Clair held a council of war and agreed on a plan of operations.<sup>2</sup> A drive against Crown Point with 10,000 men was to be the main objective with concurrent attacks against Quebec, Fort Duquesne, and the French posts on Lake Ontario. If these plans were successfully executed, lower Canada would be isolated and the British would become masters of the Great Lakes region. For the Crown Point expedition, Maryland was asked to raise 1,000 men, Virginia 1,750, and Pennsylvania 1,500. They were also expected to organize and send an expedition against Fort Duquesne. Finally, Shirley proposed that the southern colonies make a treaty with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians not only to secure their aid but to keep them from joining the enemy.

Governor Sharpe hurried home from New York and on February 23, 1756, presented the plan of operations to the Maryland Assembly with a request for it to act in a most zealous manner.<sup>3</sup> He also asked the Assembly to make the militia law more effective. After sitting ten days the lower house voted £40,000 for military purposes. "But from experience," declared Sharpe, "I find that with us there is a wide Difference

<sup>1</sup> Horatio Sharpe, *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe* (Archives of Maryland), William Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 271, 291, 293, 306, 308, 309. (Hereinafter referred to as *Sharp Cor.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 306, 315-318, 321, 331, 332; *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland*, Archives of Maryland, William Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1911, Vol. XXXI, pp. 90-100. (Hereinafter referred to as *Council Pro.*)

<sup>3</sup> *Votes and Proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly of the Province of Maryland, February, 1756*, pp. 2, 4. (Hereinafter referred to as *Votes and Pro. L. H.*)

between voting a Sum of Money & granting or raising it. . . ."<sup>4</sup> Even if the measure became a law, Sharpe was sure the money would not be sufficient to raise, provide for, and transport Maryland's troops. The means for raising the money caused a heated debate which consumed a month's time. Finally, the lower house agreed upon the bill and it was sent to the upper house. The latter objected to the tax on imported convicts, the tax on wine and spirits already in cellars and vaults for private consumption, the determination of the fort's location by the lower house, and to setting a definite date for disbanding the troops, so the bill was not approved.<sup>5</sup> The veto message declared other objections would be indicated when these were removed. At first the lower house members absolutely refused to proceed in such an irregular manner, but eventually they weakened and made a few slight concessions after the bill had been twice vetoed. The third bill differed so little from the previous ones that it was referred to a conference committee which worked out an agreeable compromise measure.<sup>6</sup> But in accepting it, the lower house resolved that "no Irregularity of Proceeding, Concession, or Condescension whatsoever, had or made in respect of that Bill, or any other of the Proceedings of this Session ought hereafter, by any Branch of the Legislature, to be drawn into or insisted upon as a Precedent."<sup>7</sup>

Sharpe felt inclined to reject a bill which taxed the proprietor's lands.<sup>8</sup> He was afraid that his approval would be censured as a "culpable Concession & subservise of his Ldp's Rights and Prerogatives. . . ." Secretary Calvert had previously informed him that "His Ldp does not doubt of your following & guarding against any Invasion on his Rights similar in your Defence on His behalf as Governor Morris has done for the proprietors of Pennsylvania."<sup>9</sup> The Pennsylvania

<sup>4</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 351.

<sup>5</sup> *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, February, 1756, pp. 42-44.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 49, 52, 58-68.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>8</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 384, 386, 414, 415, 419, 424.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 427.

Assembly, taking advantage of the frontier distress, had tried to force Governor Morris' acceptance of a supply bill taxing the proprietary estates but without success. Pressure finally became so great that the proprietor made a free gift of £5,000, which caused the Assembly to exempt his estate from taxation. Sharpe felt sure that if Lord Baltimore were in the colony and understood conditions, he would not hesitate to contribute his share. Already the proprietor had lost £1,600 in rent for 1755 because frontier settlers had deserted their lands and the annual amount of the land tax levied by the bill was considerably less than the interest on the money lost on rents.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, it was pointed out that the Maryland bill differed widely from the one proposed in Pennsylvania<sup>11</sup> Here, the proprietor's personal and real estate was to be appraised by assessors elected by the people while in Maryland, assessors were not necessary. One shilling per 100 acres, and double the sum in case of a Catholic, must be paid yearly by every landowner. In other words, the proprietor would pay the same rate per acre as every other landowner; there would be no opportunity for popularly elected assessors to over-value his lands, thereby making him pay more than an equitable share. The Maryland upper house unanimously agreed that a veto of the bill would be prejudicial to Lord Baltimore's best interests and pressed the governor to give his assent.<sup>12</sup> Persuaded that the preservation of the province depended upon the supply bill as it stood, Sharpe approved it and hoped his decision would not displease the proprietor. He took great pains to give his brothers in England, Joshua and William Sharpe, detailed accounts of the circumstances which led to its acceptance and requested them to justify his action to the proprietor.<sup>13</sup> With all the business transacted for which it had been summoned, the Assembly adjourned after sitting for twelve consecutive weeks, twice as long as any other session ever held.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 420, 427.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 428.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 421.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 399, 424, 426.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 418.



Out of the £40,000 granted, £11,000 were set aside to build a fort on North Mountain, sixty miles east of Fort Cumberland, and for paying a garrison of two hundred men until February, 1757.<sup>15</sup> For the expedition against Fort Duquesne, £25,000 were allotted on the condition that Virginia and Pennsylvania contributed their quota. Three thousand pounds were to be used to treat with the southern Indians and £1,000 were designated as scalping money. No money was appropriated for the expedition against Crown Point.

The refusal of the Assembly to send troops for the Crown Point expedition was undoubtedly based on Shirley's order to enlist indentured servants. In order to bring Colonel Dunbar's and the late Colonel Halket's regiments to one thousand men each by spring, Shirley had sent recruiting officers into Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland with orders to enlist every servant willing to join the forces.<sup>16</sup> Magistrates from all parts of Maryland immediately protested and Sharpe wrote Shirley that unless the order was countermanded an insurrection was likely to occur.<sup>17</sup> "Our people," he wrote to Governor Morris, "are with Difficulty hindered from committing violence on such occasions."<sup>18</sup> Shirley refused to revoke his order, the officers continued to recruit servants, and Lieutenant Robert Sterling was thrown into the Kent County gaol for his activity; he applied to Sharpe for relief.<sup>19</sup> The governor drafted a series of questions on the subject which he referred to the attorney-general, Daniel Dulany.<sup>20</sup> Did a *bona fide* indentured servant have a right to enlist in His Majesty's service? Was a recruiting officer who enlisted a servant knowingly or unknowingly liable to civil action? Can the governor discharge such

<sup>15</sup> *Acts of Maryland*, February, 1756, pp. 5-6; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 128-140.

<sup>16</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 281, 345.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105-113, 342, 348.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 380.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 378, 380.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 378; *Autograph Collection of Simon Gratz*, Case 3, Box 3, Pennsylvania Historical Society.

an action? Dulany held that a master could not be deprived of his property by enlistment, and if an officer knowingly enlisted a servant, he was liable to action, and that an action against him could not be discharged by the governor. The council thereupon advised that Sterling be granted bail and ordered the attorney-general to defend him at the trial.

Meantime the Maryland frontiersmen had been forced to retreat deeper and deeper into the more populous regions. "The Enemy encrease & destroy our timorous Inhabitants with Impunity," declared the governor in March, 1756, "those that are more remote from Danger content themselves with pitying such as are exposed, or perhaps condemn them for Cowardice, but will not move to their assistance, or unless they can at the same time gratify their own Passions send them the least Support."<sup>21</sup> Captain John Dagworthy's company at Fort Cumberland and Lieutenant Stoddert's party on Tonalloway Creek, maintained by public subscription, gave some protection, but proved to be inadequate. "You may expect," Colonel George Washington at Winchester wrote to Governor Dinwiddie in the spring of 1756, "by the time this comes to hand that without a considerable reinforcement, Frederick County will not be mistress of fifteen families. They are now retiring to the securest parts in droves of fifties."<sup>22</sup> In March, an assembled group of resolute frontiersmen at Frederick petitioned Sharpe to send aid or else they would march to Annapolis and compel the Assembly to grant a supply bill.<sup>23</sup> Sharpe immediately ordered two militia lieutenants to raise twenty men each and sent them out to range. Possibly in fear that the frontiersmen would carry out their threat, the Assembly granted £500 and increased the sum by £250 in April.<sup>24</sup> These amounts were soon spent and Sharpe, in order to prevent the troops from disbanding,

<sup>21</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 385, 411.

<sup>22</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland From the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, Baltimore, 1879, Vol. I, p. 481.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 484; *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, February, 1756, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, February, 1756, pp. 17, 34, 35.

generously advanced more than £750 on his own personal account.<sup>25</sup> In March, 1756, when settlers around Carlisle, Pennsylvania, began to retreat eastward, it left the northern frontier of Maryland west of the Susquehanna exposed to all kinds of marauding expeditions.<sup>26</sup> By May, Conegocheague had become the frontier settlement of Maryland; the country to the west was entirely abandoned. "Conegochiegh," declared Sharpe in May, 1756, "is already our most Western Settlement & if the Inhabitants of that part of the Country do not stand their Ground & I think there is little Probability of their doing so, I believe one might foretell without the Spirit of Prophecy that all that part of Frederick County that lies beyond FrederickTown will be abandoned before this time twelve month farthest."<sup>27</sup> The *Maryland Gazette* on April 29, 1756, noted the arrival in Baltimore of forty-one persons who came from Conegocheague to escape the furious raids of the enemy. Charles Carroll of Doughoregan wrote in July, 1756, that the lost, killed, and captured settlers numbered nearly three hundred.<sup>28</sup> Without question the condition of the Maryland frontier was deplorable. "Notwithstanding the danger we are in," wrote Thomas Ringgold, "we are just in the old strain. Courtiers contending for power and proprietary advantages. Patriots warm with zeal, and so I fear they'll continue."<sup>29</sup> But when the Assembly finally authorized the construction of a fort on North Mountain and indicated a willingness to send an expedition against Duquesne, a ray or hope for the back-settlers appeared.

Sharpe received word from Shirley in February, 1756, that

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 410.

<sup>27</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 403, 409, 411.

<sup>28</sup> Kate Mason Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton 1737-1832 With His Correspondence and Public Papers*, New York, 1898, Vol. I, p. 30.

<sup>29</sup> George T. Hollyday, "Biographical Memoirs of James Hollyday," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. VII, p. 436; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 383.



he had been selected to lead the expedition against Fort Duquesne; Washington was to be second in command. There is good reason to believe that Sharpe's appointment was due to the efforts of influential friends in England. With a passion for military service, he had written in November, 1755, to his brothers, to Lord Albemarle, Lord Baltimore, and the Hanburys asking their aid in securing for him a coloneley.<sup>30</sup> When that was not forthcoming, Sharpe was content to accept the command of the Duquesne expedition under his old commission as Lieutenant Colonel. Now that he had been honored with a commission, there was no force to lead unless Great Britain supplied the funds for raising an army.<sup>31</sup> Arms, ammunition, and artillery were lacking. There was no money to pay contingent expenses and, unless the claims of the waggoners who attended Braddock were paid, they would not contract again to transport supplies. The reluctancy of Maryland as well as her neighbors to vote men and supplies made the prospect of a westward expedition extremely gloomy. Maryland voted £25,000 on the condition that Virginia and Pennsylvania contribute their quota, but they decided to pursue only defensive measures which nullified Maryland's action. Urgent appeals to Shirley for funds were without results. In view of all the obstacles and the fact that Shirley transported all of North Carolina's troops to New York, Sharpe abandoned all hope of capturing Fort Duquesne.

Late in May, Sharpe set out for the frontier to bolster up the defense and supervise the construction of the fort. "This Journey of mine," Sharpe confided to Calvert, "I think the more necessary as Engineers or persons of Military Experience & Skill are not to be found in this part of the World & as Fort Cumberland & the little places of Defence that have been built in the two Neighboring Colonies are by no means such as I would have on the Frontiers of this Province."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Sharp Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 312, 313, 314, 331, 398, 402, 416.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 350, 351, 376, 377, 389, 390, 391, 403, 416, 417, 442, 444.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 423.

With one hundred and fifty "raw and undisciplined" men and officers, "ignorant of everything that relates to Fortifications or Places of Defence," the governor started work early in June on what came to be known as Fort Frederick, located fourteen miles west of Conegocheague on North Mountain near the Potomac River.<sup>33</sup> Contiguous to the fort were one hundred and fifty acres of land for the use of the garrison, purchased in the name of the colony. If the governor had been free to select a location, he would have chosen an eminence at the confluence of the north and south branches of the Potomac.<sup>34</sup> By building a fort at this point, the line of communication between Fort Cumberland and the more settled portions would always have been kept open. The Assembly was determined, however, not to extend protection further west than Conegocheague. Sharpe decided to build a stone fort because the burning of Fort Granville in Pennsylvania in July, 1756, convinced him that the French would not be long in teaching Indians to set fire to other wooden forts. On account of this decision, some of the "Patriots" grumbled and intimated to their constituents that a stockade would have been sufficient.<sup>35</sup> They claimed that the erection of a stone fort would put the country to an unnecessary expense, but Sharpe believed the burning of Fort Granville would convince everyone that "excessive Frugality is not always the best Oeconomy." He felt sure that any soldier and every impartial person would approve his action, but in spite of the sound ideas of Sharpe the "patriots" traduced him and threw into an invidious light every step he took.<sup>36</sup> Barracks for two hundred men were built and in an emergency, twice that number could be accommodated. The estimated cost was about £2,000. By the middle of August, when Sharpe left for Annapolis, the fort had not been completed, but the troops were under shelter and it could be finished at their leisure.

While Sharpe was at the fort, the Earl of Loudon, Shirley's successor as commander-in-chief, arrived in New York. Shortly

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 423, 430, 452, 485.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 466.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 468.

<sup>36</sup> *Port-folio* #4, Bordley to Sharpe, July 30, 1756.

before England had formally declared war against France, the British Government concluded that the war in America should be placed in charge of a regular army officer, so the Earl of Loudon was selected. News of his appointment had preceded his arrival and Sharpe had been urged by the proprietor to render every possible service.<sup>37</sup> "His Lordship's real Merit is so well known and acknowledge'd as needs no Illustration," wrote Lord Baltimore.<sup>38</sup> Loudon brought with him two skeleton infantry regiments, later known as the Royal Americans, a train of artillery, and a large quantity of war-like stores. To raise the regiments to full strength quickly, Parliament had passed an act permitting the enlistment of indentured servants, but unfortunately failed to appropriate any funds for reimbursing the masters; the colonial assemblies were expected to provide compensation as well as funds for other public services.<sup>39</sup> In case they refused, Loudon confidentially told the governors that he would advance the money. Ever willing and eager to execute instructions received either from the proprietor or royal officials, Sharpe notified all civil and military officials of Maryland to aid in recruiting men for the Royal Americans, as well as for the Nova Scotia expedition.<sup>40</sup> He agreed to guarantee the repayment of whatever sums they advanced to carry out these orders.

No sooner had Royal American officers started recruiting than Maryland planters once more became inflamed over the enlistment of servants; opposition became more violent than on previous occasions. Sharpe believed the enlistment of servants would distress the country "infinitely more than a De-

<sup>37</sup> *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 148-153; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 358-359, 370, 458.

<sup>38</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 358.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>40</sup> *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 154; "Twas really hard," Sharpe wrote to his brother, William, in July, 1757, "to be excluded from all chance of preferment in the military way by the Establishment of that Royal American Regiment which after all we have been obliged to raise." *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 48.



cimation of its free Inhabitants.”<sup>41</sup> In July, 1756, Charles Ridgely and some neighbors of Baltimore county attacked a recruiting sergeant, took away six servants, and threatened to whip him out of town.<sup>42</sup> A fortnight later Joseph Watkins and a few planters “arm’d with Clubs” wrested another recruit from the sergeant while on his way from Joppa to Baltimore. Captain Samuel Gardiner appealed to Stephen Bordley, the attorney-general, to prosecute them, but Bordley made light of the charges and even justified their action. Sharpe advised Gardiner to take his evidence before a magistrate, swear to its truth, have the offenders brought before the officers, and bind them over the county court. The governor assured Gardiner that the attorney-general would proceed with the prosecution at the proper time. During the same week Captain Gardiner reported that on Sunday “some of the better sort at the Church in the Forest” agreed to raise two hundred men and take away all of his recruits. A committee armed with weapons waited upon the captain and informed him of their plan. The captain allowed the committee to look over his recruits and fortunately, none of their servants were found. Officers enlisting for the Nova Scotia regiments secured many servants, but paid for their unexpired term. “Their Officers are picking fine Fellows every Day,” Thomas Ringgold wrote Edward Tilghman, “and they go as far as £7 or £8 p Man whilst the Royal American Officers being more of Strangers and their Fund they say will not allow either so high a price, cant get a man.”<sup>43</sup> Unless they were drafted, the governor thought it would be impossible to raise many men in Maryland for the Royal Americans.

The capture of Oswego by the French on August 12, was a severe blow to English prestige in the north. No longer was the French line of communication between Quebec and Fort Duquesne endangered; they were in complete control of the lake region and Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia might

<sup>41</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 483.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 461, 462, 467, 473.

<sup>43</sup> *Port-folio* # 13, Ringgold to Edward Tilghman, September, 1756.

expect to feel the full weight of the enemy upon their frontier. Loudon immediately warned the southern colonies of the impending danger and advised them to strengthen their frontier defenses.<sup>44</sup> Although Maryland had about two hundred men near Fort Frederick, Sharpe ordered out two hundred militiamen from Prince George and Baltimore counties for patrol duty between North Mountain and Conegocheague.<sup>45</sup> At the end of a month's service, they were to be relieved and another group take their place. One half of those sent from Baltimore county under Captain Stansbury were without weapons and ill-equipped.<sup>46</sup> The detachment from Prince George volunteered with the "greatest Alacrity" and marched away "in high spirits" under Captain Joshua Beall. Many of them were of "good families" with considerable property to defend.

Sharpe acted none too soon. Shortly after the fall of Oswego, a large party of French and Indians descended upon Maryland, killed many settlers around Conegocheague, and caused hundreds of Maryland frontiersmen to abandon their homes. Conegocheague once a fine frontier settlement became quite deserted and few people remained beyond South Mountain.<sup>47</sup> Despite the four hundred troops stationed in that vicinity, people could not be prevailed upon to stand their ground. "What an Opinion this will give you of our hardy & resolute Germans," Sharpe wrote Secretary Calvert, "Experience teaches us that they are possessed with much the same spirit as the Natives & that Bravery is by no means their distinguishing Characteristic."<sup>48</sup> Not only did the frontiersmen of Maryland flee before the firebrands and tomahawks, but also those of Virginia and Pennsylvania. As Pennsylvanians fled eastward, the Indians had free access to Maryland's northern frontier. So many abandoned their homes that by September 15, thirty miles of

<sup>44</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 462.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 473, 474, 478, 479; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 147-148, 159-160.

<sup>46</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 478-479.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 471, 481, 483-484, 485.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 484.

the northern frontier of Maryland was left unprotected. "Thus My Ld," Sharpe wrote to the proprietor, "do these Colonies feel the horrid Consequences of each others Remissness, vain must be the Efforts of any single one of them & nothing less than a united Exertion of Strength can secure any from all the Calamities of an Indian War."<sup>49</sup> The flurry soon passed, however, and by October 3, most of the people around Conegocheague had returned to harvest their standing grain. "But as they appear to be a Dastardly People," declared the governor, "I am afraid the first Indian that shall be discovered on the Frontiers will throw them again into Confusion & entirely break up that Settlement."<sup>50</sup>

Owing to these distressing circumstances, the Maryland Assembly was summoned in September, 1756, and Sharpe strongly urged the adoption of several important measures.<sup>51</sup> Funds were needed to compensate masters whose servants had enlisted; adequate protection for the frontier required additional troops; levy money for raising men for the Royal Americans had not been provided; Fort Frederick could not be completed without an additional appropriation; and finally, the governor once more asked for an amendment to the militia law in order to give officers power to compel men to march. No additional money for war purposes was needed as a balance still remained from the £40,000 grant made in the spring. But the Assembly immediately decided by a large vote not to reimburse the owners of servants and refused to amend the militia act. A fortnight elapsed before the lower house was convinced that Oswego had been lost and that there was dire need for recruits for the Royal Americans.<sup>52</sup> The Assembly thereupon began parcelling out the £25,000 which had been granted in May, 1756, for a westward expedition.<sup>53</sup> Three thousand pounds were appropriated

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 482.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 490, 492.

<sup>51</sup> *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, September, 1756, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 491, 495.

<sup>53</sup> *Acts of Maryland*, September, 1756, p. 1; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 494.



for enlisting, transporting, and supplying three hundred men, including those already raised for the Royal Americans, £2,000 for the purchase of wheat and its transportation to New York for the royal forces under Loudon, £3,000 for scalp money and the capture of live Indians. In addition, £2,000 were provided to raise, support, and pay another company of one hundred men to range on the frontier until April 10, 1757. If any of the two hundred men raised under the previous act were willing to continue in service after February, provision would also be made for them. To complete Fort Frederick and pay the garrison, £2,400 were appropriated. For arms and ammunition £3,100 were to be spent. Over £600 were allowed Sharpe for money advanced to ranging parties during the spring of 1756. As soon as these appropriations were made, Sharpe prorogued the Assembly and wrote to his brother, "I have rid mysell of a Parcel of wretches whose Company I begin sincerely to detest."<sup>54</sup> Significant is his comment to Lord Baltimore about the assemblies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, which had nothing so much at heart "as the Increase of their own Power & Importance & as they find nothing can be done without their Concurrence their Idea of their own Privileges & Authority grows in Proportion & they seem very desirous to be convened as often as possible."<sup>55</sup> To Calvert he wrote, "The Oftener they are convened the less tractable they grow & become more extravagant in their Demands on the Gov."<sup>56</sup>

By the time the session ended, militia officers had only been able to raise eight men for the Royal American regiments.<sup>57</sup> The pacific disposition of the people and the success of the recruiting parties for the Nova Scotia expedition kept Sharpe from having any high hopes of raising the three hundred men voted. To aid in securing recruits Loudon ordered seven companies of Royal Americans, about three hundred and fifty men, to winter in Maryland. They took up quarters on the Eastern Shore at Charles Town, Frederick Town, George Town, and

<sup>54</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 495.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 504-505.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 507.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 488, 489, 497, 499, 513.

Chester Town. Despite this action and the £10 bounty offered, no more than one hundred recruits had enlisted by February 1.<sup>58</sup> Recruiting for the additional Maryland company was also slow; only one-half the company had been raised by January, 1757. During the late fall and winter months Indian incursions were not so frequent and people thought themselves sufficiently protected.

Thus ended the season of 1756; it had gone badly everywhere for English arms. Loudon's troops did not arrive in America until mid-summer, and the year was lost due to inaction, the inefficiency of the general, the dilatory attitude of the colonial legislatures, and the inexperience of provincial commanders. Under Montcalm's leadership the French swooped down upon Oswego, captured this important key to the Indian trade of the Great Lakes, and became undisputed masters of the West. In the Mediterranean, they captured Minorca and from far off India came the distressful news of the loss of Calcutta. By the autumn of 1756, the pride of England was aroused; Englishmen realized that new leadership was necessary if a successful war was to be waged. In November, 1756, the Newcastle ministry was driven from office and a new one formed with William Pitt as its real head. Although Pitt continued in office for little more than four months, his attention was first given to winning the war in America. Immediate preparations were made for sending eight thousand men, seventeen ships of the line, and five frigates on that service. In spite of vigorous steps taken for a more successful campaign, the results in 1757 were attended with failure. In April, 1757, Pitt was suddenly dismissed from office. Great popular indignation, however, forced the king to recall him late in June, and Pitt became the virtual leader of a reorganized ministry headed by the Duke of Newcastle. But Pitt's absence from April to June disorganized the governmental machinery, delayed all military operations, and dissipated much of the energy generated during the winter and spring for the campaign of 1757.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 509, 519, 520, 521, 524.

While Pitt was strengthening the military and naval forces preparatory to waging a successful campaign in America, Loudon called a meeting of the southern governors at Philadelphia in March, 1757. To them he presented his plan for a spring attack against Louisburg, the main objective, and outlined some defensive measures for the southern colonies.<sup>59</sup> To protect South Carolina from raids from San Domingo; the Creek Indian country, and Mobile, five companies of the Royal Americans were to be sent there as well as a contingent from each of the southern colonies, except Maryland. The protection of the western frontier near the Ohio was left to Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, aided by five other companies of the Royal Americans under Colonel John Stanwix. Maryland was expected to keep open the line of communication between Fort Frederick and Fort Cumberland which would call for the support of five hundred men, two hundred at the former and three hundred at the latter post.

Pennsylvania acted first upon Loudon's requisitions. The governor and assembly quarreled over the appropriation measure until a money bill was drafted exempting the proprietor's estates from taxation, but it restricted the use of the troops and placed the funds in the hands of a committee. Pressure from Loudon caused Governor Denny to accept it.<sup>60</sup> The act provided £100,000 for the support of fourteen hundred men. No troops were to be raised either for Loudon's expedition or for the aid of South Carolina.

Loudon's plans could not be laid before the Maryland Assembly on account of a small pox epidemic until April 8, when it convened at Baltimore. Compared with the other colonies, Maryland's share in the spring operations was small and the governor hoped the requisitions would be readily voted. Enough money was already in the treasury, left over from the £40,000

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 518, 533-535, 547, Vol. II, pp. 3, 10; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 186-188.

<sup>60</sup> Winfred Trexler Root, *The Relations of Pennsylvania With the British Government, 1696-1765*, New York, 1912, pp. 312-313.



grant to support five hundred men during the summer. The Assembly, however, did not approve of the governor's agreement to furnish a certain quota. Consequently the members "endeavored to clog the Bill with every Clause that they thought would be disagreeable," but after some "cavilling" the house agreed to maintain five hundred men, including those already raised, upon the condition that none of the Maryland officers should have command over Fort Cumberland and none of the five hundred men should be stationed there as a standing garrison.<sup>61</sup> If a Maryland officer had command over Fort Cumberland, the expense of furnishing provisions to all the Indians who might come there would fall upon the province. The bill permitted the governor, however, to order as many men to Fort Cumberland as he thought best on detached service and even march them out of the province. In vain did the governor endeavor to convince the Assembly of the impropriety of such restraints, but the members were deaf to all arguments. They assured Sharpe that Loudon's orders to garrison Fort Cumberland showed that he was little acquainted with the frontier situation or he would not expect them to garrison a post so far in advance of the settled region. The Assembly seemed to "take a Pride in shewing their Constituents that they are above all Direction they signified to me (Sharpe) by a very plain address that they disapproved of the Disposition that his Ldp (Loudon) had made & of the orders that I had thereon given."<sup>62</sup>

When Loudon heard of the action taken, he informed Sharpe that since it was a "direct infringement of the King's undoubted Prerogative: I must desire, that you will shew them the light this must appear in at home, and the Consequences it must immediately have, if the Fortifications in the Frontiers are abandoned to the Enemy; by this unprecedented Step of the Assembly of your Province, in open violation of the Kings

<sup>61</sup> *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, April, 1757, pp. 2, 6, 11; *Acts of Maryland*, April, 1757, p. 1; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 534, 550, 551.

<sup>62</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 16.

Prerogative, of Commanding all Troops in his Dominions, and the light it must appear in at home, and the Consequences it must from its nature have here." <sup>63</sup>

The "parsemonius behavior" of Maryland set a poor example for the Virginia Assembly, but it finally appropriated £80,000 for war purposes.<sup>64</sup> In order to send her quota of four hundred men to South Carolina, Washington and two hundred Virginians had been ordered in March to evacuate Fort Cumberland and leave it for Maryland to garrison. Dagworthy with one hundred and fifty men thereupon took charge of the fort, artillery, and stores.<sup>65</sup> The greatest part of the provisions were found to be unwholesome and that precipitated a squabble. Sharpe had agreed with Dinwiddie to use whatever provisions were left, but Dagworthy claimed the beef was so bad the men would not touch it; they even preferred to eat fish and beans. Dinwiddie insisted that the beef should be paid for as the Virginians ate it while posted there. Perhaps the Maryland troops had more sensitive stomachs. Sharpe firmly refused to make payment and, after going without meat for over three months, the Maryland officers presented the case to Stanwix who directed the contractor to send fresh provisions.

After the Maryland Assembly refused to have anything to do with Fort Cumberland, Sharpe requested Colonel Stanwix to relieve Dagworthy and his company from duty there so they would be entitled to pay. But Stanwix ordered them to remain and made himself personally responsible for their compensation as long as they were employed there.<sup>66</sup>

As soon as the Assembly voted to support five hundred men, Sharpe gave orders for raising two new companies, but inasmuch as the colony had been "much drained of Men," there was grave doubt whether or not the men could be raised.<sup>67</sup> Already the colony had two hundred and fifty men on foot and that

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 24, 25; Hayes Baker-Crothers, *Virginia and the French and Indian War*, Chicago, 1928, pp. 121-122.

<sup>65</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 536-537, 543, 548, Vol. II, pp. 17, 21, 22, 24, 31, 32-33, 43, 54-55.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 16-17.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

many more had to be raised. Sharpe hoped to stimulate recruiting with the promise of the highest military commissions to those who secured the most men by June 8.<sup>68</sup> It was even doubtful if this expedient would prove effective, but the officers recruited with such great success that by June 12, over one hundred and forty men had been enlisted and by mid-summer, the Maryland troops had been augmented to five hundred men.<sup>69</sup> Colonel Stanwix ordered one hundred and twenty of them to Fort Cumberland thereby making three hundred men at that post. One hundred and forty were left to garrison Fort Frederick and for patrol duty. The system of defense maintained was so effective that not a single person lost his life from Indian incursions during that spring, summer, and fall.

One rumor of an Indian attack caused considerable commotion among the Maryland frontiersmen. In June, news arrived from Fort Cumberland that some scouts had just returned from Fort Duquesne from whence they had seen a large body of troops set out with many wagons and a train of artillery.<sup>70</sup> Judging by the route taken, it was thought that they intended to attack Fort Cumberland. Fortunately, Sharpe had previously sent orders to the colonels of the militia in all the counties to muster their men regularly and in case the enemy approached march directly to Fort Frederick.<sup>71</sup> Upon receipt of this news, the governor ordered out the militia and started at once for the fort. Five hundred militiamen quickly assembled there and were ready to march to Fort Cumberland when word came that the suspected column was no more than a scalping party.<sup>72</sup> Sharpe dismissed the assembled group, countermanded the orders to those preparing to assemble, and returned to Annapolis.

The money appropriated for the support of the five hundred

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, 23, 58, 93-94.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 23, 48.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3, 7, 9, 25, 27, Vol. I, 547, 554; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 213.

<sup>71</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 28.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 36-38, 49.



men was almost expended by September making it necessary to call the Assembly. Three years having passed without an election, the old Assembly was dissolved and a new one summoned. The governor was very reluctant to meet the delegates for he was convinced that "they will follow the Example of the Pennsylvanians in insisting on all the Proprietary's personal & real Estate within the Province being taxed as well as their own when I am by a peremptory Instruction forbid to assent to any Bill of that Sort that might be offered me. It grieves me to think that we should find such Difficulty in obtaining a paultry Sum to support a few hundred Men for the immediate & sole Defence of our own Frontier Inhabitants when we could afford to support a thousand more for the General Service did the Legislature of Great Britain think fit to compel us. There is scarcely a Person of Common Sense among us but laments that no Act of Parliament has been yet made for that purpose, for my own part I am of Opinion that nothing else can effectually preserve these Colonies from Ruin."<sup>73</sup> Loudon thought there would be no difficulty in gaining further support and begged Sharpe to explain that the restrictions laid in the spring upon the use of troops were not only contrary to the royal commands, but a direct attack upon His Majesty's undoubted prerogative of commanding military forces.<sup>74</sup> On September 28, the Assembly convened and Sharpe asked them to vote supplies and provide winter quarters for two regiments of Loudon's troops. "They are," Sharpe declared after addressing the delegates, "as I supposed they would be much chagrined that most of our Men have been ordered to garrison Fort Cumberland & insist that the Frontier Inhabitants could not receive the least protection from Troops so employed."<sup>75</sup> Since the towns were small and the inns few in number, the lower house advised that no more than one of Loudon's regiments should be quartered in Maryland. Sharpe interrupted their proceedings long enough to remind them that all the provisions at Fort Cumberland were gone and immediate relief was imperative. Instead of gen-

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

erously complying with the request, the house declared that those who stationed the troops there should be responsible for furnishing them provisions and they resolved never to make the least provision for the Maryland troops as long as they remained in Fort Cumberland.<sup>76</sup> Not only that, but they resolved to reduce the number of troops from five hundred to three hundred men and have them range just beyond the frontier settlements.<sup>77</sup> The Assembly firmly refused to maintain Fort Cumberland because it was too far away from the settled portion of the colony to be of any real service. The fact that it might be of some value in protecting the frontier of Virginia and Pennsylvania was unimportant.

Sharpe informed Loudon of the action and urged that Stanwix be empowered to supply them or else the troops would desert. While awaiting Loudon's answer the governor gave orders to have them supplied upon his own personal account.<sup>78</sup> Loudon replied in strong terms saying, "I do demand from the Province of Maryland that the 500 men furnished for the Common Cause, and Employed by me this Last Summer, in defence of their Garrisons on their Frontiers, be Continued in the Service this Winter, as absolutely necessary for the Defence of their own Province, and the Defence of His Majesty's Dominions. As to their Disposing of the Troops in the Winter I have the King's Commission to Command all the men that are or shall be in Arms in North America; I am on the Spot, and whilst the King does me the Honor to Continue that commission to me, I will execute it, and if any Officer or Soldier, presumes to disobey my orders, I will treat him as the Law Directs."<sup>79</sup> If possible, Loudon intended to come to Annapolis and present the matter in the proper light. A second letter, more confidential than the first and written at the same time,

<sup>76</sup> *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, September, 1757, pp. 24, 26, 46. Philip Hammond, Edward Tilghman, Edward Dorsey, and Mathew Tilghman formed the address to the governor.

<sup>77</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, pp. 87, 91, 125-126.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 93, 95.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 98.

advised Sharpe that in case the Assembly refused all support, Stanwix would collect some Virginians for garrison duty at Fort Cumberland. "This Affair," Loudon declared, "gives me the greatest Concern, as it seems big with the most fatal Consequences. Your Assembly in this Case, have taken a Step that tended to subvert all Government, and at once to throw off all Submission to the Government of the Mother Country, and as You are so well acquainted with the Affairs of this country, I need not say to you how fatal the Example may be, and how likely other Assemblies are to follow the Example if it cannot be stopped here. . . ." <sup>80</sup> Loudon's communication was laid before the Assembly and Sharpe urged the appropriation of funds. Instead of proceeding to a consideration of the business suggested, the house inquired what necessity required the governor to have a secretary, and undertook to compel John Ridout to appear before the bar.<sup>81</sup> Supposing they only wanted to ask a trivial question about contested elections, Ridout appeared before the lower house on September 30. The members really wanted to get evidence against their clerk who was suspected of a breach of trust. When pressed to answer questions about the affair, Ridout declined to answer and was then declared guilty of contempt of authority. Governor Sharpe believed the house only wanted to establish a precedent of requiring Ridout to attend that body whenever it wanted to inquire about Sharpe's affairs. Never before had any member of the governor's family been ordered to appear before the house though it had been a recent practice to require the presence of magistrates. Sharpe regarded the tendency as oppressive and dangerous to the constitution.

Not satisfied with complaining about Ridout, a committee composed of Edward Dorsey, Mathew Tilgham, and Robert Lloyd formulated a protest against abuses committed by the recruiting parties.<sup>82</sup> Another committee headed by Colonel

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 119, 120, 124; *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, September, 1757, pp. 5, 10, 18, 19, 53-57.

<sup>82</sup> *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, September, 1757, p. 59.



Edward Tilghman complained of the scandalous conduct and behavior of the troops at Fort Frederick. "In order to furnish themselves with materials," Sharpe explained, "every Idle & wicked Fellow that could be found on the Frontiers was brought down to prove before their Committee that the Soldiers had not done the Duty for which they were raised."<sup>83</sup> The report declared the troops were an oppression rather than a security. Such proceedings caused much dissatisfaction among the "superior Class of People in every part of the Province" and led them to declare publically that it would be a good thing for Parliament to compel the assembly to grant £20,000 annually by means of a poll tax.<sup>84</sup> Patiently Governor Sharpe suffered the insolence of the Assembly in the hopes Loudon would arrive, but the pressure of business elsewhere never permitted his visit.

On November 23, the lower house resolved to grant £20,000 for maintaining three hundred men. The bill confined their service to Fort Frederick and Conegocheague, reduced the pay of captains, and directed them not to obey any orders from Loudon. "This Bill," explained Sharpe, "has for these & about a hundred other Reasons been returned to them with a negative."<sup>85</sup> Parts of the measure were calculated to put too much power into the hands of the people, like the Pennsylvania plan. "It is from that Quarter," Sharpe remarked, "that all our Fine Schemes are imported, to the Proceedings of the Assembly of that Province & a few evil disposed Persons among ourselves I am indebted for all the Trouble that I have at times met with. It is not enough for them to be a Democracy themselves, but they would willingly have their neighbors in the same situation; however I congratulate myself on being vested with a Power which Mr. Denny wants, & I flatter myself that by my Steadiness & Integrity I shall convince every Man of common Understanding among us that the Peoples Liberty &

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 62, 72; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 125.

<sup>84</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 105.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 107, 126.

Proprieties would become very precarious if the Lower House of Assembly was along to possess all the Power that is now distributed among the several Branches of our Legislature.”<sup>86</sup> The Assembly appropriated £200, however, to be used in provisioning and quartering five companies of the Royal Americans in the colonial capital.<sup>87</sup> The appropriation was not adequate to furnish all the necessaries and they had to be provided at private expense. Annapolis citizens made frequent applications for relief from the heavy burden, but their distress did not impress the Assembly. Many gentlemen of the town were obnoxious in the eyes of the lower house because they held governmental offices and belonged to the courtly circle.

In view of the Assembly's failure to provide for the Maryland forces, Sharpe inquired of Loudon as to their disposition.<sup>88</sup> All were paid to October 10, 1756, and fairly well clothed. Since winter was approaching and the roads to Fort Cumberland almost impassable, Loudon promised to pay them as long as they garrisoned that post. Whether all the troops should be maintained until the Assembly met again or just enough to garrison Fort Cumberland, was left to Sharpe's discretion. If a reduction were made, it seemed likely that the Assembly would never agree to augment the number, so Sharpe made no alteration. He gave the Maryland officers reasonable grounds to expect pay for their men, but was very careful not to make definite promises or let it be known that Loudon had agreed to support them.<sup>89</sup> Ross, the contractor, was also assured that he would not suffer any loss.

No sooner had the legislative session ended when an Assemblyman went among the Maryland forces “industriously” saying that since no provision had been made for their support, they were disbanded and no longer subject to the command of any

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 86, 89, 114, 121; *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, September, 1757, pp. 49, 50.

<sup>88</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, pp. 102, 103, 105, 109, 110, 111, 113. Altogether, Maryland had about 430 effective men.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 135.

military officer.<sup>90</sup> When informed of the propaganda, the governor ordered two companies of militia to Fort Frederick in case such seditious preaching might have the desired effect. Hardly had this order been given than "every method was taken by some of the members of the Lower House to dissuade & discourage those Companies from marching."<sup>91</sup> Captain Peregrine Brown of Kent county met his company on January 16, 1758, and not more than ten would obey his command to march.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, pressure was brought to bear upon Browne to make no return to a magistrate of those refusing to go. There was no penalty for a captain if a return were not made and by that means the men would escape punishment. Acting with characteristic firmness, Sharpe insisted upon obedience to orders. "I need not point out to you," he explained to Richard Lloyd, one of the militia colonels, "the ill Consequences that would necessarily follow was I to connive at his Company's Refusal to obey them."<sup>93</sup> And to Captain Browne he wrote, "I do moreover command you to proceed without Delay to Fort Frederick with such of your Officers and Men as should be willing to march tho they should be no more than ten or even a less Number. You will not I hope regard the idle and false Reports of some discontented, disaffected, or dastardly People or make them an Excuse from pursuing the Orders given you by your Commanding Officer. . . ."<sup>94</sup> On February 15, in spite of the severe weather, forty-five men marched to Bay Side. High winds and a low tide prevented their immediate embarkation for Patapsco; two weeks passed before they could set sail. A windy gale then obliged them to go ashore at Chester where the men resolved to return home on account of frost-bitten toes, ears, and hands. The detachment, therefore, was completed by drafting men from other companies and Captain Browne again set out for Fort Frederick. Colonel Richard Lloyd told Sharpe he looked upon the militia law "as cruel as it possibly can be, and

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 132, 133, 136, 140, 143.



if fully Executed must ruin the People, and . . . I am determined never more to give any Orders of the Sort for the Furture."<sup>95</sup> He resigned his colonelcy rather than enforce an unpopular command. The principle argument used by the lower house members against Sharpe's action was that the law did not oblige the militia to march unless in case of actual invasion. If the enemy were not really within the confines of the colony, militiamen could not be compelled to garrison a fort or serve in arms.

Believing that the delegates in the lower house after sober reflection would propose a supply bill agreeable to Loudon's wishes, the governor gave them another opportunity. He met the delegates on February 13, 1758, and presented Loudon's comments upon the proposed bill of the previous session denying his right to command Maryland's troops.<sup>96</sup> A few days later Sharpe received Loudon's plans for a spring drive and these were also laid before the house.<sup>97</sup> Maryland was to raise four hundred men over and above those necessary for frontier defense. As soon as the four hundred joined the royal forces, provisions would be supplied. Furthermore, Loudon promised to employ them in a way beneficial to the security of Maryland. Resentful and sullen, the Assembly inquired of the governor the reason for an by virtue of what law the militia from Queen Anne and Kent counties had been sent to the frontier.<sup>98</sup> Without waiting for a reply, the house voted to support three hundred seasoned men for the immediate defense of the colony and to raise four hundred more for Loudon.<sup>99</sup> Since a great majority of the delegates were averse to granting money on any conditions, they formulated a supply bill that would require disapproval. By an equal assessment tax on all real and personal estates and a tax on all lucrative offices they proposed with

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123; *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, February, 1758, pp. 2, 4.

<sup>97</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, pp. 139, 142.

<sup>98</sup> *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, February, 1758, pp. 10, 11, 12, 21.

<sup>99</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, pp. 143, 146, 147.

almost a unanimous vote to raise £30,000.<sup>100</sup> After the upper house rejected the bill, the lower house refused to consider any new business and Sharpe prorogued it on March 9, 1758. That evening the governor ordered two more militia companies to Fort Frederick lest the garrison desert.

The next day Sharpe received a letter from Pitt advising him of Loudon's recall. Because of the generally accepted opinion of Loudon, the favorable attitude of Governor Sharpe toward him is highly interesting. In August, 1758, he wrote to his brother, William Sharpe, "You cannot easily conceive how the loss of the Earl of Loudoun is now regretted in America, as well as in these Southern Colonies as to the Northward, indeed nothing has seemed to go on rightly with us since His Lordship was superseded, the plan which he had laid for an early Expedition Ag Fort DuQuesne was at once upset by the Troops which he had quartered for that purpose in Maryland & Pens last Winter being ordered to the Northward as soon as General Abercromby assumed the Chief Command, beside you must know that his Ldp began to be regarded among us as a Vice Roy & to have great influence in all the Colonies which I am apt to think his Successors will never have. The Inactivity as it has been called of the last Campaign was indeed censured for a while but after the People had heard Affairs represented in their true light they were perfectly reconciled to his Ldp's Conduct & were universally of the opinion that the Event of this Campaign had he continued at the Head of His Majesty's Forces in America would have been equal to their wishes.

. . . " <sup>101</sup>

During 1757 the situation in America from both the British and colonial point of view had gone from bad to worse. The expedition against Louisburg was a fiasco and the destruction of Fort William Henry left Albany and all western New England under the shadow of impending danger. Indeed, the outlook was dreadfully gloomy, yet victory was around the corner.

<sup>100</sup> *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, February, 1758, pp. 8, 16.

<sup>101</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 254.

## THE MARYLAND GAZETTE:

An American Imitation of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*.

By MARTHA C. HOWARD.

Goucher College, Class 1934.

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The *Maryland Gazette* has been in the limelight recently — in connection with the Tercentenary Celebration of Maryland — as the first newspaper of the colony. Published weekly at Annapolis, beginning in September, 1727, it has the distinction of being among the six or seven earliest newspapers of America. It was the first to be published south of Philadelphia, and it is the only one of these earliest papers surviving to the present day. There are several studies of the *Gazette* and of its first editor, William Parks;<sup>1</sup> but apparently no one has ever related this colonial publication to its English models, the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. That Steele and Addison set the fashion for eighteenth-century periodicals not only in England but also on the continent is a well-known fact.<sup>2</sup> But their influence on the periodicals of colonial America has had little comment.<sup>3</sup> I should like to state briefly the similarities in appearance, form, purpose, and subject matter between the *Tatler-Spectator* type

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, Typothetae, 1922) and *William Parks—Printer and Journalist of England and Colonial America* (Richmond, The William Parks Club, 1926); Charles M. Christian (Ed.), *Two Hundred Years with the Maryland Gazette, 1727-1927* (Annapolis, Capital-Gazette Press, Inc., 1927).

<sup>2</sup> A useful summary may be found in G. R. Carpenter, *Selections from the Works of Sir Richard Steele* (Boston, 1897), pp. lvii-lx. See also Walter J. Graham, *English Literary Periodicals* (New York, 1930), pp. 85-118; and Walter W. Gustafson, "The Influence of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* in Sweden," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, XII (1932).

<sup>3</sup> Among the American imitations were the *New England Courant* (1721); the *New England Weekly* (1727); and the *Weekly Rehearsal* (1731). See Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston* (1881), II, pp. 398-99.



of periodical and the *Gazette* as it appeared between 1727 and 1734, under the editorship of William Parks.<sup>4</sup>

The outward appearance of the early *Gazette* closely resembles that of its English models. At first it, like them, was a half-folio sheet printed on both sides in double columns. But in time, as the amount of news matter increased, the paper became a four-page publication of folio size. As in its prototypes, the heading, with its two limiting dates, extended across the full width of the page. For a time, also, the Latin motto was used. The usual order of material was the same: first, the principal essay, letter, or tale; second, the news section, as in the early *Tatlers*; then, the advertisements; with the imprint across the full width of the page at the end. The whole appearance of the paper — take for example, No. 66, December 10-17, 1728 — suggests that of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*.

William Parks, the editor, like Steele and Addison, attempted to convey the appearance of anonymity in his own literary contributions to his periodical. He used "The Plain Dealer" as a pen name. But the Plain Dealer, unlike the *Spectator*, had no fictitious club to assist him with his editorial duties; at least there is no evidence of one in the extant numbers. It is known, nevertheless, that a group of colonial essayists, versifiers, and political writers gathered about Parks and contributed to his paper, sometimes, like the editor, using a pen name, and again, signing their own names.<sup>5</sup> Parks himself

<sup>4</sup> In this period (1727-1734) were published the first two series, of which only 57 extant issues are known. The first series, which ran weekly from September 12-19, 1727 to December 15-22, 1730, consisted of 171 numbers. No. 65 seems to be the first extant (December 3-10, 1728). The second series, which ran from December 5-12, 1732 to November 22-29, 1734, with omissions, consisted of 90 numbers; at least, No. 90 is the last issue known to exist. Complete data concerning all known issues may be found in the books by Lawrence C. Wroth, cited above. I have examined the files of the *Gazette* in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society, which has either an original or a photostatic copy of each of the 57 extant issues of the first two series.

<sup>5</sup> According to Wroth, *William Parks* . . . , p. 21, among them were: Ebenezer Cooke, Daniel Dulany (the Elder), Henry Darnall, and the Rev. Jacob Henderson.

had been appointed by the Colonial Assembly to the office of printer to the colony in 1726, soon after his arrival from England, where he had recently engaged in editing a provincial periodical in Ludlow and in various printing enterprises in Hereford and Reading.<sup>6</sup> His interest in literary matters and his endeavors to encourage the latent talents of his fellow colonists are attested by the books printed at his presses in Annapolis and in Richmond, Virginia,<sup>7</sup> and by the character of the *Gazette* with its essays, fables, and verses. That he continued to keep in touch with literary and artistic circles in London is shown by such news items in the *Gazette* as references to Mr. Congreve's coach accident and Mr. Handel's musicals, to "the famous Pope," and to Mr. John Gay's funeral.<sup>8</sup>

Parks' avowed purpose in this piece of journalism it is impossible to know definitely in the absence of the first numbers of the *Gazette*. It may have been chiefly to print news, foreign and domestic, for the information of the colonists. But to the reader of the extant issues there can be no doubt that, like Steele and Addison, Parks was interested in bringing about social and literary improvement and that it was his desire to entertain as well as to inform. Like his English predecessors, he also made a special bid, and in similar terms, for the favor of women readers:

"In my second Paper, I intimated my Design of improving the FAIR-SEX, by giving some finishing Touches to Them who are already the most beautiful Pieces in human Nature: I proposed to divert their Minds from useless Trifles, and instead thereof, to furnish their Breasts with valuable Knowledge . . ."<sup>9</sup> Parks seems to have made no attack on foibles or minor vanities in the spirit of wit and satire. His reforming essays are written

<sup>6</sup> Wroth, *William Parks* . . . , pp. 10-11.

<sup>7</sup> Wroth, in *William Parks* . . . , gives a complete list of Parks' publications.

<sup>8</sup> No. 129 (first series), February 24-March 3, 1729-30; No. 94 (first series), June 24-July 1, 1729; No. 19 (second series), April 6-13, 1733

<sup>9</sup> No. 65 (first series), December 3-10, 1728.

in a heavy moralistic vein; and the subject matter of much of the correspondence printed in his columns suggests the more practical community problems of the New World. Jack Modish, Tom Nimble, Ned Softly, and the like of *Tatler-Spectator* fame are supplanted by Philo-Patriae, Oroonoko, and Fardinando Fair-Trade, names more appropriate for a colonial paper.

The literary forms of the *Gazette* parallel those of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, and its subject matter is often reminiscent of them. For example, the epistle essay is used to present current themes in literary criticism, such as a comparison of poetry and painting;<sup>10</sup> moral instruction thought suitable for women;<sup>11</sup> religious topics, for example, the dangers of enthusiasm and superstition;<sup>12</sup> and pseudo-philosophical discussions, such as the advantages of philosophical doubting.<sup>13</sup> Dramatic criticism is lacking in these first two series, there being no theatre in the colony; but it is interesting to note that it does appear in the third series.<sup>14</sup> Verse, of a mediocre poetic quality, is printed rather frequently.<sup>15</sup> One early issue contains a moral essay cast in the dream-vision frame-work reminiscent of Addison's "Vision of Mirzah";<sup>16</sup> and another has a sentimental tale of Florio and Florella<sup>17</sup> — designed for the amusement of the ladies — on the order of Steele's "Inkle and Yarico."

The *Maryland Gazette* is well worth reading for its own sake as an early American document. My purpose is merely to point out some of its parallels with the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. Here we have, in colonial Maryland, another indication of their wide influence on eighteenth-century periodical literature.

<sup>10</sup> No. 67 (first series), December 17-24, 1728.

<sup>11</sup> No. 65 (first series), December 3-10, 1728.

<sup>12</sup> No. 69 (first series), December 31-January 7, 1728-9.

<sup>13</sup> No. 66 (first series), December 10-17, 1728.

<sup>14</sup> Begun in 1745 by Jonas Green, the new printer and editor.

<sup>15</sup> For example: No. 67 (first series), December 17-24, 1728; No. 89 (first series), May 20-27, 1729; No. 131 (first series), March 10-17, 1729-30; No. 133 (first series), March 24-31, 1730; No. 162 (first series), October 13-20, 1730; fragment between Nos. 9 (January 26-February 2, 1732-3) and 10 (February 2-9, 1732-3) of the second series.

<sup>16</sup> No. 70 (first series), January 7-14, 1728-9.

<sup>17</sup> No. 65 (first series), December 3-10, 1728.



LAND RECORDS OF BALTIMORE COUNTY,  
1676 TO 1678.

Contributed by LOUIS DOW SCISCO.

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By their references to a merchant and a chirurgeon at Spesutia Creek and to a merchant and an innkeeper at Bush River the land records seem to indicate some amount of development in the northern part of the county. Charles Calvert was proclaimed lord proprietary on March 4, 1675-76, as successor to his father Cecil Calvert, deceased in England in the previous November.

The next following summaries embrace the contents of pages 300 to 370 of the original record in Liber G No. J and pages 235 to 276 of the transcript in Liber T R No. R A. Sometime about the end of the year 1676 the clerk reached the bottom of his last liber page while in course of recording a deed. He continued the document in another liber.

Deed, June 5, 1676, Thomas Overton and wife Jane conveying to Peeter Elliss, planter, a 75-acre portion of the tract "Beaver Neck" on Muskeeto Creek, lately in possession of Bernard Utie, now occupied by Edward Jaxon, and adjoining Mr. Henry Haslewood's plantation. Witnesses, Thomas Long, Miles Gibson. Grantors acknowledge before George Utie and John Waterton, commissioners.

Deed, June 5, 1676, John Owen, planter, of Gunpowder River, conveying to Edward Phillips, planter, the 100-acre tract "Swann poynte" on the south side of the western branch of Gunpowder River. Witnesses, Thomas Richardson, Miles Gibson. Grantor acknowledges before George Utie and John Waterton, commissioners.

Deed, July 23, 1674, Thomas Long, gentleman, of Back River, for 3,100 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Leakins, planter, of Patapsco River, the 74-acre tract "Rich Neck" on the south side of the Middle River, adjoining land formerly laid out for Capt. Connalls. Witnesses, Nathaniell Hinchman, Robert Bengier. Grantor and wife Jane acknowledge on June 5, 1676, before George Utie and John Waterton, commissioners.

Deed, June 7, 1676, Miles Gibson conveying to Samuel Hedge, gentleman, the 640-acre tract "Spryes Inheritance" near the head of Rumley Creek. Witnesses, William Palmer, Thomas Cooke. Grantor acknowledges before John Waterton and Thomas Hedge, commissioners.

Deed, November 1, 1675, Thomas Roper, planter, of Anne Arundel County, for 16,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Anthony Demondidier of same county 295 acres in three parcels; first, the 50-acre tract "Cold Comfort" on north side of middle branch of Patapsco River as patented February 24, 1661-62, to Loveles Gorsuch, planter, and later held by Charles Gorsuch; second, the 100-acre tract "Rich Neck Levell" on north side of Patapsco River and on the middle branch, as patented June 20, 1668, to Charles Gorsuch, who deeded this and "Cold Comfort" February 1, 1669-70, to Thomas Roper of South River; third, the 145-acre tract "Ropers Range" on north side of Patapsco River and on the west side of the middle branch, patented June 20, 1668, to Roper, adjoining the tract "The Addition" laid out for Henry Goodrick and John Efford. Witnesses, Robert Wilson, William Salsbury. Wife Mary Roper releases claim on November 2 before George Wells and Henry Haslewood. Seizin given grantee September —, 1675, with witnesses Timothy Pendall and Christopher Randall.

Bond, November —, 1675, Thomas Roper, planter, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself for 32,000 pounds of tobacco to Anthony Demondidier as warranty of performance of Roper's covenants of same date. Witnesses, Robert Wilson, William Salsbury.

Deed, March 9, 1674-75, James Ives, merchant, and wife Martha conveying to William Palmer, gentleman, the 100-acre tract "Iventon" at head of Catthole Creek as patented to Ives May 1, 1672. Witnesses, George Wells, Henry Haslewood. Wife Martha gives consent before Wells and Haslewood, commissioners.

Deed of gift, May 19, 1676, Thomas Thurston, in consideration of marriage made by his daughter Anne with Miles Gibson, conveying to Gibson 600 acres on Great Choptank River in Talbot County, embracing the tracts "Coles Banks" and "Morefields." Witnesses, Nathaniell Henchman, Elizabeth Hollis, Thomas Troute.

Deed of gift, October 27, 1676, Thomas Thurston, for natural love and affection, conveying to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of George Skipwith of West River, all his goods and chattels in Maryland, giving possession by affixing a silver sixpence on the seal. Witnesses, John Ireland, Peter Ellis, Lawrence Taylor. Grantor acknowledges before George Utie and Henry Haslewood.

Deed, November 3, 1675, Henry Haslewood, gentleman, and wife Elizabeth conveying to Rutgerston Garretts, planter, the 75-acre tract "Hasle Parke," at back of a place called Woodpeckers Hall and adjoining land formerly taken up by George Goldsmith. Witnesses, George Wells, John Waterton.

Deed, May 29, 1675, Hon. Col. Nathaniell Utie, esquire, of Spesutia, and wife Elizabeth, for 4,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Edward Beedle, planter, 130 acres on south side of Musketto Creek, occupied by Beedle and adjoining to land sold by Utie to Robert Jones, it being part of

the 400-acre tract "Carters Rest" patented March 4, 1661-62, to Col. Edward Carter and now divided by Edward Beedle, Robert Jones, and Ruthen Garrett. Witnesses, George Wells, John Waterton.

Deed, May 29, 1675, Hon. Col. Nathaniell Utie, esquire, of Spesutia and wife Elizabeth, for 3,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Robert Jones, planter, 90 acres on south side of Musketto Creek, adjoining land sold by Utie to Edward Beedle, it being part of the 400-acre tract "Carters Rest" now divided. (*Record continued in next liber.*)

The following items cover pages 1 to 28 of the present courthouse Liber I R No. P P, which is a transcript made in 1892 from an older volume, probably bearing the same designation and containing matter from several still older books which are now missing. These land records seem to have been at first in a book called Liber B, but in the record they are cited from a source which the transcriber styles Liber L x C No. 1.

Caption entry, "Brought from the Book of Conveyances Liber B."

Deed continuation, Nathaniell Utie and wife Elizabeth to Robert Jones giving warranty for the 90 acres and affixing signatures. Witnesses, George Wells, John Waterton.

Deed, May 29, 1675, Hon. Col. Nathaniell Utie, esquire, of Spesutia, and wife Elizabeth, for 4,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Ruthen Garrett, planter, 180 acres on south side of Musketto Creek, adjoining land sold by Utie to Edward Beedle, it being part of the 400-acre tract "Carters Rest" now divided. Witnesses, George Wells, John Waterton.

Deed, February 6, 1676-77, Joseph Gallion, planter, and wife Sarah, for 4,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Edward Gunnell, merchant, the 100-acre tract "Gallars Bay" at Heart's Creek on south side of Bush River. Witnesses, Thomas Spry, William Yorke. Wife Sarah gives consent before Mr. Henry Haslewood. Grantors give seizin on February 21 by turf and twig.

Deed, October 9, 1676, William Ball of Anne Arundel County conveying to William Cocky of same county the 100-acre tract "Balls Enlargement" on south side of Patapsco River, adjoining Bear Neck, as patented July 20, 1674, to Ball. Witnesses, George Wells, John Stansby. Deed executed March 6, 1676-77.

Deed, April 3, 1676, William Ebdon and wife Jane, for 1,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Jonas Boyne, planter, the 100-acre tract "Gooseberry Neck" on Deep Creek in Back River, as patented August 1, 1673, to Ebdon. Witnesses, John Stansby, Thomas Hedge. Wife Jane releases interest April 3, 1677, before Stansby and Hedge, commissioners.

Deed, January 18, 1676, Henry Haslewood and wife Elizabeth conveying to John Ireland, surgeon, two tracts, one being the 100-acre tract



"Collingham" on west side of Spesutia Creek, formerly taken up by John Collett, senior, now occupied by Ireland and adjoining land laid out for George Goldsmith; the other being the adjoining 8-acre tract "Haslewoods Retirement" at the mouth of Collett's Back Creek in Spesutia Creek. Witnesses, Henry Johnson, Thomas Hedge. Wife Elizabeth gives consent June 5, 1677, before Thomas Hedge, commissioner.

Deed, June 5, 1677, James Ives and wife Martha conveying to Arthur Taylor, planter, 150 acres at Foster's Creek on east side of Gunpowder River, formerly taken up by John Collett. Witnesses, John Ireland, Peter Ellis. Wife Martha gives consent before Thomas Hedge, commissioner.

Deed, June 4, 1677, James Ives, planter, for 1,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Henry Haslewood the 50-acre tract "Barrand Point" at the head of Musketoe Creek. Martha Ives signs with grantor. Witnesses, John Ireland, Peter Ellis. Wife Martha gives consent before Thomas Hedge, commissioner.

Deed, November 12, 1677, Benjamin Bennett, planter, for 1,800 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Edward Jackson, planter, the 50-acre tract "Rascalls Humour" at Beaver Neck Branch at head of Musketto Creek, adjoining land formerly taken up by John Collett. Witnesses, John Dunston, Edward Goodman.

Bill of debt, November 13, 1677, Edward Jackson, planter, agreeing to pay 1,800 pounds of tobacco to Benjamin Bennett, planter, in Baltimore County on October 10 next. Witnesses, John Dunston, Edward Goodman.

Deed, October 13, 1676, Walter Dickenson, planter, of Great Choptank, Talbot County, for 2,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Durbin of Severne, Anne Arundel County, the 200-acre tract "Johnston" on the east side of Dickenson's Branch on east side of Welshman's Creek, on north side of Patapsco River. Sarah Dickenson signs with grantor. Witnesses, Michael Offley, John Rowland.

Letter of attorney, March 16, 1676-77, Walter Dickenson and wife Sarah authorizing Michael (*sic*) Gibson to acknowledge for them in court their sale of land last October to Thomas Durbin. No witnesses on record. Appendant clerk's notation that Mr. Miles Gibson, as authorized, on November 8, 1677, made delivery of land in court.

Deed, November 7, 1677, John Boring, planter, conveying to William Cromwell the 100-acre tract "Marshalls Hope" on north side of Curtis Creek in Patapsco River, adjoining Mr. Henry Goodrick's tract "The Range," as patented August 8, 1670, to Richard Marshall, planter. No witnesses on record.

Letter of attorney, November 5, 1677, William Cromwell, planter, appointing Anthony Demondidier, planter, his attorney to receive in court acknowledgment of sale of the 100-acre tract "Maskall his hope" from John Booring. Witnesses, James Durdin, William Webb.

Deed, November 7, 1677, Edward Reeves, planter, for 2,000 pounds of

tobacco, conveying to Thomas Preston, planter, the 43-acre tract "The Chance" on north side of Gunpowder River, patented May 26, 1676, to Reeves. No witnesses on record. Wife Anne gives consent before Miles Gibson. Reeves delivers land November 8 in court.

Deed, November 4, 1675, Rutgerston Garretts, planter, conveying to Dennis English, planter, the 75-acre tract "Hazle park" at back of a place called Woodpeckers Hall and adjoining land formerly taken up by George Goldsmith, it having been sold to grantor by Henry Haslewood and wife Elizabeth. Witnesses, George Wells, John Waterton.

Letter of attorney, October 6, 1677, John Rogers, merchant of Bristol, having sold to Miles Gibson, planter, his 50-acre plantation called "Port Royal" appoints, as his attorney to make delivery, Joseph Sanders, merchant of Bristol, now bound for Maryland. Witnesses, Thomas Daniel, George Tyte. Thomas Daniell, on April 30, 1675 (*sic*), certifies to the letter before George Wells and Henry Haslewood.

Deed, April 30, 1678, Joseph Sanders, merchant of Bristol, attorney for John Rogers, conveying to Miles Gibson, planter, the 50-acre tract "Port Royall," at mouth of Port Royall Creek in Rumley Creek and the stock of hogs thereon, it being land patented May 1, 1672, to John Desjardines, gentleman, and by him deeded to Rogers. Witnesses, George Wells, Henry Haslewood. Acknowledged before same. Recorded June 14, 1678, by Clerk Henry Johnson.

Letter of attorney, August 7, 1677, William Ball of Lancaster, Va., appointing as his attorney Nicholas Ruxton, of Patapsco, to acknowledge in court a sale of land, Ball being under bond of August 6 to Maj. Thomas Long, gentleman, of Baltimore County, to acknowledge sale. Witnesses, Nicholas Corbin, Rowland Thornburgh.

Deed, June 4, 1678, Nicholas Ruxton of Patapsco, attorney for William Ball of Lancaster County, Va., for 9,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Maj. Thomas Long, gentleman, the 420-acre tract "Ballistone" at Middle River in Gunpowder River, formerly known as North West River, said tract patented September 24, 1663, to Ball. Witnesses, George Wells, Miles Gibson.

Deed, August 6, 1678, George Smith and wife Elizabeth conveying to James Phillips, innholder, the 100-acre tract "Crab Hill" on north side of Bush River, patented May 16, 1678, to Smith and wife, and adjoining the tract "The Upper Elling." Witnessed in court by Henry Johnson, clerk. Wife Elizabeth gives consent before Edward Bedell.

The next following items are from pages 55 to 58 of Liber I S No. I K, which embraces a transcript of the older book I C No. A. These papers apparently came from a court book now lost. Four of them are undated but their time of record is indicated approximately by their position in the record book.

Clerk's minute, undated, that Lodwick Williams has appeared before Mr. George Utie, Mr. John Watterton, and Mr. Thomas Hedge, and, to meet certain debts has made an assignment to William Palmer, who is attorney for Robert Jones, for Samuel Hatton, and for Arthur Carleton as administrator of Thomas Carleton's estate, Williams assigning to Palmer his mare on James Denton's plantation, his cattle at the plantation where Edward Reeves lives, his cattle running in the Neck, a bill of debt from Edward Reeves, a heifer and four barrels of corn at William York's plantation, his 200-acre tract "Lodowicks Ridge" on Gunpowder River Neck, and all his plantation at Bush River.

Clerk's minute, undated, that at the same time Joseph Gallyan has appeared before Mr. George Utie, Mr. John Waterton, and Mr. Thomas Hedge, and, to stop an execution for debts has made an assignment to William Palmer, who is attorney for Robert Langley, Edward Bleake & Co., John Desjardins, Edward Williams, Henry Warde, and William Darnall, Gallyan assigning to Palmer his home plantation at Bush River and his cattle running in the Neck.

Clerk's minute, undated, that a receipt for 1,500 pounds of tobacco produced by Lodowick Williams and given to him by Kenelm Cheseldyn is adjudged by the court to cover a debt for which judgment was rendered at the previous court in favor of William Palmer, attorney for Arthur Carleton, administrator of Thomas Carleton's estate. Appendant receipt, December 17, 1674, Kenelm Cheseldyn acknowledging 1,500 pounds of tobacco from Lodowick Williams in full of all debts to Capt. Thomas Carleton.

Clerk's minute, undated, that on petition from Christopher Tapley the court orders Thomas Canon to deliver to Tapley a certain patent for land that was taken up jointly by Tapley and Levy Wharfe.

Deed of gift, January 18, 1676-77, Anna Todd conveying to her children, names not stated, all her property, on condition that they allow, out of it, liberal and comfortable maintenance during her lifetime; she also appointing "my beloved brother" Mr. Charles Gorsuch her attorney to acknowledge and record the deed in court. Witnesses, Richard Ball, William Long, James Mills, John Mylam. Appendant clerk's notation that Gorsuch as attorney has acknowledged in court and asks the deed recorded.

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ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, ANNAPOLIS.  
INCORPORATED BY ACT OF ASSEMBLY, 1784.

---

*Professors and Teachers.*

John McDowell	President	Salary	500
Ralph Higginbotham	Vice-President		300
Patrick Magrath	Assistant		250
Patrick Magrath	D <sup>o</sup>		200
Richard Owen	Teacher of Writing & Mathematics	}	
Monsieur L'Allie	Teacher of French		
	Salaries unknown		

*Students.*

1789

Thomas Higginbotham	John Jenings
John Owen	James Jenings
William Long	

1790, 1791, &amp; 1792

William Jenings	William Coale
Joseph Brewer	Hezekiah Grant
William Davidson	James McCandless
Daniel Clark	Henry Hayward
Richard Chew	William Maynadier
William Brown	Henry Maynadier
Samuel Moale	Robert Welch
Clement Dorsey	Russell Lee
Edward Rutter	Christian Grammar
Richard Carroll	Daniel Mastin
George Moore	Edward Mastin
Henry Moore	Benjamin Johns
Pemberton Nichols	William Weems
John Leggett	Fred <sup>k</sup> Price
Edward Coale	Levin Campbell

Absalom Ridgley	Thomas Russell
J. Done	Lewis Bayley
Joseph Muse	Samuel Bayley
John Mercer	Thomas Hodges
Henry Steele	Thomas Hayward
John A. Carr	John Hesselius
Chas. Alexander	Thomas Shaw
Samuel Chase	Alexander Magruder
Hall Harrison	Henry Addison
Christopher Harrison	Alexander Williams
Benjamin Ogle	William Thomas
Joseph Richardson	William Hilleary
Richard Cooke	Lumsford Lomax
Gerard Alexander	Thomas Wally
John C. Herbert	John Waring
John Leigh	Henry Brice
Thomas Chase	William Beall
Richard Harwood	Francis S. Key
John Duckett	Robert H. Goldsborough
Jacob Tschudy	John Shaw
William Campbell	Horatio Clark
Thomas Drysdale	Samuel Maynard
Ninian Pinkney	William Cooke
Edward Lloyd	Carlyle Whiting
Henry Lloyd	Daniel Murray
Lewis Duvall	Charles Dickinson
Benjamin Dulany	Philip Baker
Trueman Tyler	George Campbell
Francis Hall	Richard Galen Stockett
Richard Snowden	William Henry Brown
John Galloway	John Tayloe Lomax
Clement Hill	Daniel Jenings
James Johnson	John Higginbotham
Charles Wayman	William Brewer
Henry R. Warfield	Robert Tilghman
William Govane	Thomas Snowden

Thomas Blackburn  
 George Clark  
 Thomas Gantt  
 Nicholas Lane  
 Henry Troup  
 Howes Goldsborough  
 Jacob Judy  
 John B. Barnes  
 William Johnson  
 Leslie Steuart  
 William Donaldson  
 Alexander Hammett

William Farnandis  
 James Buchannon  
 John Harrison  
 James West  
 John Claude  
 Thomas W. Walker  
 Richard H. Owen  
 Frances Cooke  
 Robert Couden Stone  
 John Wilmat  
 William Yeldall H.

## 1793, 1794, &amp; 1795

Dennis Claude  
 James Tootell  
 Thomas N. Harwood  
 James Shaw  
 Horner Jenings  
 Philip Thomas 1<sup>st</sup>  
 Philip Thomas 2<sup>d</sup>  
 Joseph Wilkins  
 John Wilkins  
 James Boyle  
 William Shaw  
 Philip Henop  
 Thomas Pryse  
 George Word  
 George Stewart  
 John Paca  
 John H. McCubbin  
 Grafton Duvall  
 Horner Jenings  
 Washington Mills  
 Charles Stewart  
 Richard Ridgley  
 John Lee

William Thompson  
 John Seney  
 James McCubbin  
 Richard Sprigg Harwood  
 William Rogers  
 Geo. Washington Rogers  
 Jesse Hyde Ray  
 Hyde Ray  
 James Williams  
 Richard Chase  
 Henry Green  
 John Wells  
 Joseph Richardson  
 Allen Thomas  
 George Mann  
 William Mann  
 Joseph Wyatt  
 George Welsh  
 Nicholas Carroll  
 Thomas Charlton  
 Lloyd Thos. Hammond  
 Thomas Rogers  
 Daniel Rogers



Abraham Usher	Archibald Lee
John Welsh	John Dorsey
Philip Dickenson	William Lee
William Lockerman	Abraham Claude
Robert Fowler	John Quynn
John Hanson Thomas	James Murray
John C. Weems	Nicholas Harwood
Lloyd Nichols	William Paca
James Stewart Grant	William Laurence
Edward Courtenay	Thomas Beale Dorsey, Sen.
William Courtenay	Fairfax Washington
Louis B. Smith	Whiting Washington
Richard Cromwell	John Leeds Kerr
William Hughes	William Patterson
William P. Stewart	Robert Patterson
Charles W. Hanson	Thomas Beale Dorsey, Jr.
John Golder	Washington Tuck
Thomas Daffin	William Greenbury Ridgley
William Harrison	Fred <sup>k</sup> Grammar
William Pinkney	Fred <sup>k</sup> Price
John Ridgely	Tobias Watkins
Henry S. Yates	James Laurey
Samuel Davidson	Thos. Brogden Walker
Joseph Hall	Sam <sup>l</sup> Ayers Chew
Henry Hall	Chas. R. Allick
Paca Smith	William Fitzhugh
Peregrine Warfield	Wm. Henry McCubbin
Frisby Freeland	Thos. A. L. C. Lane
John Grahame Mackall	Richard S. Harrison
William Sanders	Pringsley Harrison
John Sanders	S. John Stilt
Jas. Edmund Brice	William Pinkney
Edward Noll Cox	Fred <sup>k</sup> Mackall
John Holliday	William A. Middleton
Alexander Hanson	John Patterson
William Potts	Thomas Armidell

Henry Maynadier	James Shaw
Walter Wyvil	Joseph Wharf
James Cheston	John Wharf
William Humphreys	Samuel Franklin
Warner L. Nicolls	Lewis Neth
Gabriel Van Horn	Richard Edgar
Washington Van Bibber	John G. Harrison
Chas. Ridgley Sterrett	John Gibson
James Sterrett	Alfred Dawson
Robert Goldborough	Joseph Dawson
William Goldsborough	John Beale Weems
John Gaither	

Survivors of the Classes of 1789, 1790, 1791, & 1792  
Jan.: 1<sup>st</sup> 1849

Samuel Moale	Alexander C. Magruder
Richard Cooke	Richard Galen Stockett
William Cooke	John Tayloe Lomax
Gerard Alexander	Richard H. Owen
James Johnson	

Jan: 20<sup>th</sup> 1849

Gen<sup>l</sup> J. S. Smith

Dear Sir The foregoing is a Copy of the Catalogue furnished me by the Rev<sup>d</sup> Hector Humphreys President of St. John's College, March 14<sup>th</sup> 1843. If you think it deserves a place in the Archives of the Historical Society of Maryland you can assign it its proper place: The endowment of St. John's and Washington Colleges was made in 1784 but during a period of high political excitement the Funds were taken away and left the Institutions nothing more than Grammar Schools but I have heard a part of the funds have been restored which has put St. John's on a more respectable footing respectfully

Jas. Johnson  
Saratoga Street

## EARLY MARYLAND NEWSPAPERS.

## A LIST OF TITLES

*Compiled by*

GEORGE C. KEIDEL, PH. D.

Entries prefixed with an \* are in Maryland Historical Society's Collection.

(Continued from Vol. XXIX, p. 236.)

1856

\* Annapolis Gazette.

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

[Annapolis] Maryland Republican and State Capital  
Advertiser.

\* Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser.

\* Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.

\* [Baltimore] American Democrat.

\* [Baltimore] American Farmer.

[Baltimore] Bible Times.

[Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.

Baltimore Clipper.

[Baltimore] Constitution.

\* [Baltimore] Daily Baltimore Republican.

[Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent.

[Baltimore] Elevator.

[Baltimore] Evangelical Lutheran.

[Baltimore] Evening Patriot.

Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] Journal of Commerce and Price Current.

\* [Baltimore] Laura's Gossip.

[Baltimore] Leit-Stern.

[Baltimore] Lutheran Observer.

[Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.

\* Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Advertiser.

Baltimore Republican and Argus.



- \* [Baltimore] Sun.
- [Baltimore] Traveller.
- Baltimore Wecker.
- \* [Baltimore] Weekly Argus.
- [Baltimore] Weekly Clipper.
- Baltimore Weekly Sun.
- [Baltimore] Wochentliche Baltimore Wecker. (?)
- \* [Bel Air] Southern Ægis and Intelligencer.
- Boonsboro' Odd Fellow.
- Boonsboro' Times.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- [Cambridge] Democrat and News.
- Centreville Times.
- Centreville Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.
- Charlestown News. (?)
- [Chester Town] Kent Conservator.
- [Chester Town] Kent News.
- Cumberland Alleganian.
- Cumberland Civilian.
- Cumberland Telegraph and Mining Register.
- Denton Journal.
- \* Easton Gazette and Eastern Shore Intelligencer.
- \* Easton Star.
- [Elkton] Cecil Democrat.
- \* [Elkton] Cecil Whig.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Howard County Free Press.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Times.
- \* Frederick Herald.
- \* [Frederick] Maryland Union.
- [Frederick] Political Examiner.
- \* [Frederick] Republican Citizen.
- \* [Frederick] We, the People, a paper for the campaign.
- Hagerstown Chronicle.
- \* [Hagerstown] Herald of Freedom and Torchlight.
- [Hagerstown] Mail.
- [Hagerstown] Odd-Fellow.

[Havre de Grace] Harford Madisonian and Havre de Grace  
Advertiser.

[Leonard-Town] St. Mary's Beacon.

[Liberty-Town] Banner of Liberty.

[Middletown] Valley Register.

[New Windsor] True American.

Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser.

[Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.

Rockville Journal and Montgomery County Advocate.

[Rockville] Montgomery County Sentinel.

[Snow Hill] Worcester Shield.

[Towsontown] Baltimore County Advocate.

[Upper Marlboro'] Marlboro' Gazette.

[Upper Marlboro'] Planter's Advocate.

\* [Westminster] American Sentinel.

[Westminster] Carroll County Democrat.

[Williamsport] Banner.

[Williamsport] Modern Times and Home Journal.

### 1857

\* Annapolis Gazette.

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

[Annapolis] Maryland Republican and State Capital  
Advertiser.

\* Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser.

\* [Baltimore] American Farmer.

[Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.

[Baltimore] City Agent.

\* Baltimore Clipper.

[Baltimore] Constitution.

\* [Baltimore] Daily Baltimore Republican.

[Baltimore] Daily Exchange

[Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent.

[Baltimore] Evening Patriot.

Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.

Baltimore Illustrated Times and Local Gazette.

- [Baltimore] Journal of Commerce and Price Current.
- [Baltimore] Lutheran Observer.
- [Baltimore] Monitor.
- [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- [Baltimore] Our Opinion.
- Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.
- [Baltimore] Republican.
- Baltimore Stethescope.
- \* [Baltimore] Sun.
- [Baltimore] Traveller.
- [Baltimore] True Union.
- Baltimore Wecker.
- \* [Baltimore] Weekly Dispatch.
- Baltimore Weekly Sun.
- \* [Bel Air] Southern Ægis and Intelligencer.
- Boonsboro' Odd Fellow.
- Boonsboro' Times.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- [Cambridge] Democrat and News.
- Cambridge Herald.
- Charlestown News.
- [Chester Town] Kent Conservator.
- [Chester Town] Kent News.
- Cumberland Alleganian.
- Cumberland Civilian.
- Cumberland Telegraph and Mining Register.
- Denton Journal.
- \* Easton Gazette and Eastern Shore Intelligencer.
- [Easton] Public Monitor.
- \* Easton Star.
- [Elkton] Cecil Democrat.
- \* [Elkton] Cecil Whig.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Howard County Free Press.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Rural Southerner.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Times.
- \* [Frederick] The Examiner.



- \* Frederick Herald.
- \* [Frederick] Maryland Union.
- [Frederick] Republican Citizen.
- [Hagerstown] American Chronicle.
- \* [Hagerstown] Herald of Freedom and Torchlight.
- [Hagerstown] Mail.
- [Hagerstown] Odd-Fellow.
- [Leonard-Town] St. Mary's Beacon.
- [Liberty-Town] Banner of Liberty.
- [Middletown] Valley Register.
- [New Windsor] True American.
- Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser.
- [Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.
- [Princess Anne] Somerset Union.
- [Princess Anne] True Democrat.
- Rockville Journal and Montgomery County Advocate.
- [Rockville] Montgomery County Sentinel.
- [Snow Hill] Worcester Shield.
- [Towsontown] Baltimore County Advocate.
- [Upper Marlboro'] Marlboro' Gazette.
- [Upper Marlboro'] Prince George's Advocate. (?)
- [Westminster] American Sentinel.
- [Westminster] Carroll County Democrat.
- [Westminster] Carrolltonian.
- [Williamsport] Banner.

1858

- \* Annapolis Gazette.
- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and State Capital Advertiser.
- \* Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser.
- \* [Baltimore] American Farmer.
- [Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.
- Baltimore Christian Advocate.
- Baltimore Clipper.

- [Baltimore] Constitution.
- [Baltimore] Daily Exchange.
- [Baltimore] Daily Gazette.
- \* [Baltimore] Daily Baltimore Republican.
- \* [Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent.
- [Baltimore] Evening Patriot.
- \* Baltimore Gazette and Commercial Advertiser.
- [Baltimore] Journal of Commerce and Price Current.
- [Baltimore] Lutheran Observer.
- [Baltimore] Monitor. (?)
- [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- \* Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.
- Baltimore Pictorial Advertiser.
- Baltimore Price-Current and Weekly Journal of Commerce.
- \* [Baltimore] Sun.
- [Baltimore] True Catholic. (?)
- [Baltimore] True Union.
- Baltimore Wecker.
- \* Baltimore Weekly American.
- Baltimore Weekly Sun.
- \* [Bel Air] Southern Ægis and Intelligencer.
- Boonsboro' Odd Fellow.
- Boonsboro' Times.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- [Cambridge] Democrat and News.
- Cambridge Herald.
- [Chester Town] Kent Conservator.
- [Chester Town] Kent News.
- Cumberland Civilian.
- [Cumberland] Democratic Alleganian.
- Cumberland Telegraph and Mining Register.
- Denton Journal.
- \* Easton Gazette and Eastern Shore Intelligencer.
- \* [Easton] Public Monitor.
- \* Easton Star.
- [Elkton] Cecil Democrat.

- \* [Elkton] Cecil Whig.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Howard County Free Press.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Times.
- \* [Frederick] The Examiner.
- \* Frederick Herald.
- \* [Frederick] Maryland Union.
- [Frederick] Republican Citizen.
- \* [Hagerstown] Herald of Freedom and Torchlight.
- [Hagerstown] Mail.
- [Hagerstown] Odd-Fellow.
- Hancock Journal.
- [Havre-de-Grace] Harford Visitor.
- Laurel Beacon.
- [Leonard-Town] St. Mary's Beacon.
- [Liberty-Town] Banner of Liberty.
- [Middletown] Valley Register.
- [New Windsor] True American.
- [New Windsor] Carroll County Herald.
- Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser.
- [Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.
- [Princess Anne] True Democrat.
- Rockville Journal and Montgomery County Advocate.
- [Rockville] Montgomery County Sentinel.
- [Snow Hill] Worcester Shield.
- [Towsontown] Baltimore County American.
- [Towsontown] Baltimore County Union.
- [Upper Marlboro'] Marlboro' Gazette.
- [Upper Marlboro'] Planter's Advocate.
- \* [Westminster] American Sentinel.
- [Westminster] Carroll County Democrat.
- \* [Westminster] Carrolltonian.
- [Williamsport] Banner.

1859

- \* Annapolis Gazette.
- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.



[Annapolis] Maryland Republican and State Capital  
Advertiser.

\* Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser.

\* [Baltimore] American Farmer.

[Baltimore] American Nautical Gazette.

[Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.

Baltimore Clipper.

[Baltimore] Constitution.

\* [Baltimore] Daily Exchange.

[Baltimore] Daily Gazette.

\* [Baltimore] Daily Baltimore Republican.

[Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent.

[Baltimore] Evening Patriot.

[Baltimore] Evening Star.

[Baltimore] Family Journal.

\* Baltimore Gazette and Commercial Advertiser.

[Baltimore] Journal of Commerce and Price Current.

[Baltimore] Katholische Volkszeitung.

[Baltimore] Lily of the Valley.

[Baltimore] Lutheran Observer.

[Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.

[Baltimore] Our Newspaper.

Baltimore Pictorial Advertiser.

\* Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.

[Baltimore] Real Estate Register.

[Baltimore] Rural Register.

\* [Baltimore] Sun.

[Baltimore] True Union.

[Baltimore] Turn-Zeitung.

Baltimore Wecker.

[Baltimore] Weekly Bulletin.

[Baltimore] Weekly Freeman.

\* Baltimore Weekly Sun.

\* [Bel Air] Southern Ægis and Intelligencer.

Boonsboro' Odd Fellow.

Boonsboro' Times.

- Cambridge Chronicle.  
[Cambridge] Democrat and News.  
Cambridge Eagle.  
Cambridge Herald.  
Cambridge Republican.  
Centreville Advocate.  
Centreville Times.  
[Chester Town] Kent Conservator.  
[Chester Town] Kent News.  
Cumberland Alleganian.  
[Cumberland] Civilian and Telegraph.  
[Cumberland] Democratic Alleganian.  
Denton Journal.  
\* Easton Gazette and Eastern Shore Intelligencer.  
[Easton] Public Monitor.  
\* Easton Star.  
[Elkton] Cecil Democrat.  
[Elkton] Cecil Whig.  
[Ellicott's Mills] Patapsco Enterprise and Howard County  
Gazette.  
[Ellicott's Mills] Times.  
\* [Frederick] The Examiner.  
\* Frederick Herald.  
\* [Frederick] Maryland Union.  
[Frederick] Republican Citizen.  
[Frederick] Sunday School Advocate.  
Frostburg Gazette.  
\* [Hagerstown] Herald of Freedom and Torchlight.  
[Hagerstown] Mail.  
[Hagerstown] Odd-Fellow.  
[Havre-de-Grace] Harford Times.  
Laurel Beacon.  
[Leonard-Town] St. Mary's Beacon.  
[Liberty Town] Banner of Liberty.

[Middletown] Valley Register.  
 [New Windsor] Carroll County Herald.  
 [New Windsor] True American.  
 Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser.  
 [Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.  
 [Princess Anne] True Democrat.  
 Rockville Journal and Montgomery County Advertiser.  
 [Rockville] Montgomery County Sentinel.  
 [Snow Hill] Worcester Shield.  
 [Towsontown] Baltimore County Advocate.  
 [Towsontown] Baltimore County Union.  
 [Uniontown] Enterprise.  
 [Upper Marlboro'] Marlboro' Gazette.  
 [Upper Marlboro'] Prince George's Advocate. (?)  
 \* [Westminster] American Sentinel.  
 [Westminster] Carroll County Democrat.  
 [Westminster] Carrolltonian.  
 [Williamsport] Banner.

## 1860

\* Annapolis Gazette.  
 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.  
 [Annapolis] Democrat-Star. (?)  
 [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and State Capital  
 Advertiser.  
 \* Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser.  
 \* [Baltimore] American Farmer.  
 [Baltimore] Border State.  
 [Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.  
 \* Baltimore Clipper.  
 [Baltimore] Constitution.  
 [Baltimore] Craft.  
 [Baltimore] Daily Baltimore Republican.  
 \* [Baltimore] Daily Exchange.  
 [Baltimore] Daily Gazette.  
 [Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent.



- \* Baltimore Dispatch.
- [Baltimore] Evening Patriot.
- [Baltimore] Evening Star.
- [Baltimore] Family Journal.
- Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.
- [Baltimore] Journal of Commerce and Price Current.
- [Baltimore] Katholische Volkszeitung.
- [Baltimore] Lutheran Observer.
- \* [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.
- Baltimore Republican.
- [Baltimore] Rural Register.
- \* [Baltimore] Sun.
- [Baltimore] Sunday Dispatch. (?)
- [Baltimore] True Union.
- [Baltimore] Turn-Zeitung.
- Baltimore Wecker.
- \* Baltimore Weekly Sun.
- \* [Bel Air] Southern Ægis and Intelligencer.
- Boonsboro' Times.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- [Cambridge] Democrat and News.
- Cambridge Herald.
- Cambridge Intelligencer.
- [Centreville] Maryland Citizen.
- [Centreville] State Rights Advocate.
- Centreville Times.
- [Chester Town] Kent Conservator.
- [Chester Town] Kent News.
- Chestertown Transcript.
- Cumberland Alleganian.
- Cumberland Bulletin.
- [Cumberland] Civilian and Telegraph.
- [Cumberland] Democratic Alleganian.
- [Denton] American Union.
- Denton Journal.

- \* Easton Gazette and Eastern Shore Intelligencer.
  - [Easton] Public Monitor.
  - [Easton] Social Journal.
  - \* Easton Star.
  - [Elkton] Cecil Democrat.
  - \* [Elkton] Cecil Whig.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Patapsco Enterprise and Howard County Gazette.
  - [Ellicott's Mills] Times.
  - \* [Frederick] The Examiner.
  - \* Frederick Herald.
  - \* [Frederick] Maryland Union.
  - [Frederick] Republican Citizen.
- \* [Hagerstown] Herald of Freedom and Torchlight.
  - [Hagerstown] Mail.
  - [Hagerstown] Odd-Fellow.
  - [Havre-de-Grace] Harford Times.
  - [Leonard-Town] St. Mary's Beacon.
  - [Liberty-Town] Banner of Liberty.
  - [Middletown] Valley Register.
- Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser.
  - [Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.
  - [Princess Anne] True Democrat.
- Rockville Journal and Montgomery County Advocate.
  - [Rockville] Montgomery County Sentinel.
  - Salisbury Sentinel.
  - [Snow Hill] Worcester Shield.
  - [Towsontown] Baltimore County Advocate.
  - [Towsontown] Baltimore County American.
  - [Towsontown] Baltimore County Union.
  - [Uniontown] Enterprise.
  - [Uniontown] Weekly Press.
  - [Upper Marlboro'] Marlboro' Gazette.
  - [Upper Marlboro'] Prince George's Advocate.
  - \* [Westminster] American Sentinel.
  - [Westminster] Carroll County Democrat.

[Westminster] Carrolltonian.

[Williamsport] Banner.

*(To be Continued.)*

NOTE.—It is planned to publish one more instalment of the above bibliography to contain Additions and Corrections, as well as several indexes. Contributions for this final instalment are respectfully solicited.

The compiler takes this occasion to express his sincere thanks to the many persons who have helped him to write this bit of Maryland history, and more especially does he wish to express his appreciation of the valuable aid given him by the editor of this magazine, by the officials of the Maryland Historical Society and by those of the Library of Congress.

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### OLD MARYLAND BIBLES.

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These Bibles were inherited by Mrs. Maria Talbot Selby, 2066 Woodberry Avenue, Baltimore, Md., the grand-daughter of James Winchester Owings. Samuel Owings left the Bible to his grandson, James Winchester Owings. The book has been rebound, so there is no date of publication.

One of the family pages was of Urath Randall Owings, January 22, 1707. Mrs. Selby has a small picture in ink of Samuel Owings and Ruth Cockey; a large photograph of James Winchester Owings; a miniature of Urath Owings, daughter of Samuel, sister of James (who married 1st. Edward A. Cockey, son of Charles Cockey, 2nd. David Carlisle); a gold watch of Martha (wife of James W. Owings, given to her by Talbot Jones, her father, then to Elizabeth Owings, her daughter); three silver table spoons (wedding gift to James W. Owings), with initials on handles. Also a postal card dated Oct. 5, 1903, from Mrs. Mary E. Lattimer, requesting her to call at Towsontown to receive these above old bibles.

Copied Oct. 3, rechecked Oct. 12, 1934, by Ferdinand B. Focke.

#### URATH RANDALL OWINGS BIBLE.

Jany. 22, 1707.

Samuel Owings, son of Richard Owings, was born first of April, 1702, and married Jany. 1, 1729, to Urath Randall, daughter of Thomas Randall & wife.

Beale Owings, son of Samuel Owings and Urath Owings,



was born ninth day of August, eight o'clock at night on Sunday, 1731.

Samuel Owings, son of Samuel Owings and Urath Owings, was born 17 day of August at 12 o'clock Friday, 1733.

Rachel Owings, daughter of Samuel Owings and Urath Owings, was born the second day of May at about 12 o'clock at night on Sunday, 1736.

Urath Owings, daughter of Samuel Owings and Urath Owings, was born the 26 day June at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, 1738.

Thomas Owings, son of Samuel Owings and Urath Owings, was born on Saturday about 8 o'clock in the morning, Oct. 18, 1740.

Hannah Owings, daughter of Samuel Owings and Urath Owings, was born on Sunday about 8 o'clock in the afternoon, April 17, 1743, and died Jany. 26, 1745, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon on Friday.

Richard Owings, son of Samuel Owings and Urath Owings, was born 16 day of July, 1749, on Saturday about 8 o'clock in the morning.

Hannah Owings, 2nd. daughter of Samuel Owings and Urath, was born the 27 day of January, 1750, on Sunday about 12 o'clock at night.

Christopher Owings, son of Samuel Owings and Urath Owings, was born 16 day February, 1744, about 9 o'clock on Saturday morning.

Richard Owings, son of Samuel Owings and Urath Owings, was born on the 20 day of August, 1746, on Tuesday about 7 o'clock in the afternoon and died Sept. 28 on Monday about 11 o'clock at night, 1747.

Samuel Owings departed this life in the year 1775 in his 73 year of his life.

Urath Owings departed this life in the year 1792 in the 80 year of her age, 15 Day of December, 1793.

Rebecca Owings, daughter of Samuel Owings and Urath Owings, was born 21st. of October, 1756, on Tuesday about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

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## RECORDS FROM AN OLD BIBLE.

Samuel Owings and Ruth Cockey, were married March 22, 1791.

Deborah Owings, born January 6, 1792.

Hannah Owings, born January 5th, 1794.

Urath Cromwell Owings, born July 3, 1796, married Edward A. Cockey; son of Charles.

A daughter still born, 1797.

William Lynch Owings was born Aug. 7, 1799.

A son still born.

Charles Ridgely Owings, born November 14, 1802.

A daughter still born.

James Winchester Owings, born September 5, 1806.

A daughter still born, January, 1808.

A daughter still born, March, 1809.

A son still born, May 7, 1811.

Mary Ann Owings, born April 6, 1814, married 3 September, sick on the 10th, died 2nd October.

Hannah Owings, born January 5, 1794.

Urath Cromwell Owings, born January 8, 1796, died June 1, 1886, in her 90th year.

William *Linch* Owings, was born August 7, 1799.

Charles Ridgely Owings, was born November 14, 1802; died in his 70th year.

James Winchester Owings, was born September 5, 1806; died in his 80th year.

Mary Ann Owings, was born April 6, 1814; died October 2nd; married 3rd September, was taken sick 10th, and died 2 October.

Ruth Owings, consort of Samuel Owings, died in 1834; aged 62.

James Winchester Owings, married Maria Jones, daughter of Talbot Jones, on the 3rd April, 1833.

Elizabeth Jones Owings, was born August 28th, 1834, daughter of J. W. Owings and wife Maria.

William Ballard, was married to *Hanah* Owings, by the Rev. Joshua Weles, 25 May, 1813.

James W. Owings and Maria Jones, were married on the 3rd April, 1833.

Samuel Owings, son of Richard Owings and Rachel, was born 1st day of April, 1702.

Samuel Owings, was married to Urath Randall, daughter of Thomas and Hannah Randall, the first day of January, 1730.

Bale Owings, son of Samuel and Urath, was born 9th May, 1731.

Samuel Owings, son of Samuel and Urath, was born 17 August, 1733.

Rachel Owings, daughter of Samuel and Urath, was born 2 May, 1736.

Urath Owings, daughter of Samuel and Urath, was born 26 June, 1738.

Thomas Owings, son of Samuel and Urath, was born 18 October, 1740.

Hannah Owings, daughter of Samuel and Urath, was born 17 April, 1743.

Samuel Owings, departed this life April 6, about 2 o'clock in the morning, 1775; aged 73 years.

William Cockey and Hannah Owings, were married June 30, 1771, by Rev. William Edmonson.

Ruth Cockey, was born 21 of June, 1772.

William Cockey, was born the first April, 1774, and departed this life 18 February, 1783, being the 90th year of his age.

Samuel Owings, son of Samuel and Deborah, was born 3rd April, 1770, and departed this life 26 day of July; aged 59 yrs in 1828.

James W. Owings, was born the fifth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six.

Maria Jones, was born the 15 day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven.

Married on the 3 April, 1833, James Winchester Owings and Maria Jones.

Elizabeth Owings, was born August 28th, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and 34; married on the 5th day of September, 1855, to Joseph Rutter Disney.



Samuel J. Owings, son of James W. and Maria Owings, died October 22, 1855, in his 19th year.

James W. Owings and Mary E. Leeson, were married 5 Sept., 1855; went to live at Townsontown, September, 1857.

James Winchester Owings, died on 30 day March, 1887, in the 81st year of his age.

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#### JAMES WINCHESTER OWINGS BIBLE.

Mary Winchester Owings, was born on the 12 October, 1851; adopted by James W. Owings on the 21 day of April, 1858; died on 13 day of January, 1861, of Scarlet Fever.

Elizabeth Owings Disney, died 21 February, 1889, in the 55 year of her age.

Mrs. Maria Owings, consort of James W. Owings, died 9 April, 1837.

William Ballard, departed this life 24 December, 1818.

Edward A. Cockey, son of Charles Cockey, born 7/19/1791; died 8/21/1834; married Urath Cromwell Owings, his second cousin; married by Rev. Charles Austin.

Urath Cromwell Owings, married second David Carlisle.

William Owings and Sofia North Moale, married June 5, 1832.

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Note: April 10, 1880, the remains of the following persons were removed by James W. Owings, Valley Farm, to the St. Thomas Church graveyard:

Samuel O. Winchester, son of George and Ann Winchester.

Sarah Winchester, daughter of George and Ann Winchester, 10 day January, 1825; aged 39.

Rebecca Owings, born on the 20 October, 1758.

Married on September 5, 1855, in Baltimore, by Rev. John G. Morris, Mary Elizabeth Leeson to James W. Owings, of Baltimore City.

Mary Winchester Owings, was born on the 12 October, 1851; adopted by James W. Owings on the 21 of April, 1858; died on the 13 January, 1861, of Scarlet Fever.

James W. Owings, 2nd wife, was the last one to be buried in the Owings Vault at St. Thomas Church. Charles T. Cockey had the key to the Vault and it was then sealed.

The Baptism certificate of Mary Elizabeth Owings, 19 Aug., 1860. James Winchester Owings, Jr., 19 Aug., 1860. By Rev. Bishop W. R. Whittingham.

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Bible owned by

JAMES WINCHESTER OWINGS, of Govanstown, Maryland.

Printed, American Bible Society, N. Y., 1859.

Samuel Owings, departed this life in the year 1775, in the 73rd year of his age.

Urath Owings, departed this life in the year 1792, in the 80th year of her age.

Samuel Owings, son of Richard Owings and Rachel Owings, was born the 1st day of April, 1702; and married the first day of January, 1729, to Ruth Randall, daughter of Thomas Randall and Hannah Randall his wife.

Samuel Owings, was born the 31 April, 1770, and died on 26th day of July, 1828, aged 59 years; was married to Ruth Cockey on the 22nd day of March, 1791.

Deborah Owings, was born January 16, 1792; and died December 11, 1864.

Hannah Owings, was born January 5, 1794.

Urath Cromwell Owings, was born July 8, 1796; died June 1, 1886, in her 90th year.

William *Linch* Owings, was born August 7, 1799.

Charles Ridgely Owings, was born November 14, 1802; died in his 70th year.

James Winchester Owings, was born September 5, 1806; died in his 80th year.

Mary Ann Owings, was born April 6, 1814; died October 2, 1814.

Ruth Owings, consort of Samuel Owings, died in 1834; age 62 yrs.

James W. Owings, was married to Maria Jones, on the 3 April, 1833; died 9 April, 1837.

Elizabeth Jones Owings, was born August 28, 1834, daughter of J. W. and Maria Owings.

Samuel Owings, son of James W. and Maria Owings, was born February 28, 1837; died at age of 19 yrs. The school teacher whipped him or beat him so he never got over it.

James Winchester Owings, died on 30th day of March, 1887, in his 81st year.

Died in Townsontown, the 2nd of January, 1881, at the residence of James W. Owings, *Mary C. Bain*, daughter of the late Robert Bain, age 12 years.

Died in Townsontown, on the 30th day of June, 1875, at the residence of James W. Owings, *Isabella Mosheir*; was buried at Greenmount Cemetery, July 1, at 6 o'clock p. m.

Married in Baltimore, September 5, 1855, by Rev. John G. Morris, *Mary Elizabeth Leeson* of Baltimore, to *James W. Owings* of Baltimore County.

James Winchetser Owings, was Justice of the Peace, 1855; Assessor Taxes in Balto. Co., 1876; appointed by Gov. Carroll; Vestryman Trinity Church, Towson.

James W. Owings, married Maria Jones, daughter of Talbot Jones, President of the Eutaw Savings Bank. They went to Evansville, Indiana, on their wedding trip, to live, where he lost his wife by death, also his fortune. He brought his two children back and gave them to his sister, Deborah Stevenson, to raise. Elizabeth J. Owings, Samuel J. Owings.

Newspaper cuts: Died 9th January, 1884, *James L. Wisner*, formerly of Townsontown, of consumption; 38 years of age, kept store at Stevenson, Greenspring Valley. Widow and child survive. He was a nephew of James W. Owings.

Samuel J. Owings, son of J. A. and Maria Owings, was born February 28, 1837.

Maria Owings, consort of James W. Owings, departed this life in Evansville, Indiana, April 9, 1837.

Samuel Winchester Owings, son of J. W. and Maria Owings, died October 2, 1855.

James W. Owings, younger son of Samuel and Ruth Owings, died at his home at Townsontown, on the 30 day of March, 1887, in his 80th year.

Samuel Owings, was born 31st April, 1770.

Samuel Owings, died 26 July in year 1828; aged 59 years.

Departed this life, *Ruth Owings*, wife of Samuel Owings, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and 34.

Samuel I. Owings, son of J. W. Owings & Elizabeth, was born February 28, 1837.

THE DISNEY BIBLE.

Josiah Rutter Disney, married Elizabeth J. Owings, daughter of James W. and Maria Owings, December 7, 1854.

Josiah, was born December 30, 1831; died October 10, 1876.

Elizabeth J. Disney, was born August 28, 1834; died Feb. 21, 1889. Issue:

Maria Talbot Disney, born April 27, 1856; married

——— Lawson Selby, born 1852, 1/6.

Mary Ellen Disney, born May 11, 1860.

Charles Watkins Disney, born June 28, 1862; married

——— Georgie Ann Kelley; had three sons.

Lucy Owings Disney, born January 20, 1865; married

——— George M. Timanus; has sons Wilbur, Boyd; live in Florida.

Luther W. Disney, born June 8, 1867; died July 28, 1868.

James Winchester Owings Disney, born March 27, 1870.

Joseph O. Disney, born February 9, 1873; married

——— Minnie Thies; live in Laurel.

THE SELBY BIBLE.

Lawson L. Selby, was born January 6, 1852.

Maria Talbot Disney, was born April 27, 1856; married at Woodberry M. E. Church, October 4, 1877.

Bessie Selby, born July 8, 1878; died Nov. 3, 1879.



George Sherwood, born November 14, 1880; married Katharine Wagner.

Josiah Edward Selby, born September 18, 1882; married Carrie Hubbs.

Mary E. Selby, born August 1, 1885; died April 4, 1887.

Florence Selby, born December 21, 1888; died June 14, 1889.

Josiah's daughter, Ruth Selby, married Harry Rudasill.

Elizabeth Selby, married Henry Davis.

This typewritten copy was made November, 1934, from a manuscript copy made from the original by Mr. Ferdinand B. Focke.

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### CORRECTION.

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#### MATERNAL ANCESTRY OF SIR GEORGE CALVERT.

By FRANCIS B. CULVER.

We feel that in view of the approaching end of Maryland's Tercentenary celebration, it is opportune to correct a false notion, on the part of several historians, concerning the maternal ancestry of Sir George Calvert.

In Foster's *Visitation of Yorkshire, 1584-1612, et seq.*, there appear two conflicting versions with respect to the name of the mother of Sir George Calvert (1579-1632). On page 500, *sub* "Calvert of Danby Wiske," the first Lord Baltimore is mentioned as a son of Leonard Calvert and his wife *Alice*, the daughter of "John Crosland of Crosland." On page 509 (*ibid.*), *sub* "Crosland of Helmsley," George Calvert is mentioned as a son of Leonard Calvert and wife *Grace*, a daughter of "Thomas Crosland of Crosland" by—(daughter) of—"Hawksworth of Hawksworth." Later writers have adopted the one or the other version as their fancy seems to have dictated. Let us eliminate first the incorrect pedigree.

Thomas Crosland (or, Crossland), of Crosland Hall in the parish of Almondbury, Yorkshire, died in the year 1587, on a journey to London, and was buried September 2, 1587. He married (1) Marina or Mariana Hawksworth, daughter of Walter Hawksworth of Hawksworth. She was buried at Almondbury in 1565. He married (2) Joanna —, who died and was buried at Almondbury, July 11, 1575.

Thomas Crossland had issue, nine children as follows: By first wife, Thomas and Anne: By second wife, George, John, Michael, Luke, *Grace* (born Feb. 8, 1572/3) who "married Leonard Calvert of Kipling in Yorkshire," Lucy and Susannah (See *The Genealogist*, xii. 199-204).

From the foregoing data, it is obvious that Grace Crossland, who was born in 1573, could not have been the mother of Sir George Calvert (1579-1632), yet could have been a second wife of Leonard Calvert, even though twenty years his junior and, thus, step-mother of Sir George Calvert.

Another pedigree is supplied by the clever and zealous Calvert family genealogist, Benedict Leonard Calvert (1700-1732), Oxford graduate, who drew up and wrote, with his own hand, a Calvert pedigree in which he mentions the mother of Sir George Calvert as "Alicia, daughter and *heiress* of John Crosland of Crosland" (*Maryland Historical Magazine* II. 369). This is the correct pedigree, because on no other grounds could the Calvert descendants have exercised the heraldic privilege of *quartering* the Calvert and Crossland arms. Further, an "heiress," in the heraldic sense, indicates a daughter of a family in which there are no sons. Where there are several such daughters, all have equal status and are styled "co-heiresses."

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

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*October 8th, 1934.*—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with President Harris in the chair.

It was stated that the National Park Service had asked this Society for authentic data concerning Fort Frederick so that the restoration work, now being carried on by the Citizens' Conservation Camp, could be properly done. The matter was referred to Mr. Wm. McCulloh Brown, a recognized authority on the subject of the Fort.

A list of the donations made to the Library and Gallery since the last meeting was read.

A singularly interesting gift is the portrait of Henry Waggaman of Dorchester County, by Charles Willson Peale. The portrait was presented by Mr. George S. Macdonald, and is now being cleaned and re-glazed to be hung in the Gallery.

Another gift worthy of particular mention is that of Mr. H. Oliver Thompson, who has presented the portraits, miniatures and drawings of his ancestors, as well as some thirty account books of the old firm of Robert and John Oliver, and the nine-volume diary of his great-grandfather, Henry Thompson.

Mr. Louis H. Dielman was recognized by the Chair and he presented the following resolution:

*"Be it Resolved,* That the Maryland Historical Society in session this eighth day of October, 1934, make a note upon its minutes and extend to Mr. H. Oliver Thompson the thanks and appreciation of the Society for his continued and continuous interest in its efforts to add to its valuable collections."

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

*Active*

Mr. W. Barry Cassell

Mrs. Howard C. Hill

Miss Catherine Finney	Mr. James McGill
Mrs. Robert H. Torrence	Mr. Howe P. Cochran
Mr. Edward J. McIntyre	Mrs. Robert B. Deford
Rev. E. Kenneth Albaugh	Mr. Alfred T. Hoen
Miss Elizabeth Donaldson Steuart	

*Associate*

Mrs. C. S. Goodknight	Mr. Harrington Adams
Mrs. Willis F. Manges	

The following deaths were reported from among our members :

Mr. Paul H. Miller, May 20th, 1934.  
 Rev. L. A. Thirlkeld, May 24th, 1934.  
 Mr. Skipwith Wilmer Pleasants, June 21st, 1934.  
 Mr. Henry Hollyday, July 7th, 1934.  
 Dr. James Davidson Iglehart, July 14th, 1934.  
 Miss Virginia de Goey, July 26th, 1934.  
 Mr. Waldo Newcomer, July 29th, 1934.  
 Mr. Iredell W. Iglehart, August 15th, 1934.  
 Mr. Herbert Noble, September 17th, 1934.  
 Mrs. Luella Sinclair Olson, September 22, 1934.

Mr. James E. Hancock was recognized by the Chair and he presented the following resolution :

*"Whereas*, We have heard with sincere regret of the death of Dr. James Davidson Iglehart, who departed this life on July 14th, 1934;

*"Be it Resolved*, That the Maryland Historical Society has received with deep sensibility the announcement of the death of Dr. James Davidson Iglehart who was an active and influential member of this Society for more than forty years and it tenders to the family and the relatives of the deceased the assurance of its sympathy in their bereavement; and

*"Be it further Resolved*, That the Secretary be directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the family of the deceased."

Upon motion duly seconded and carried, the resolution was unanimously adopted.



Mr. Louis H. Dielman was recognized by the Chair and offered on behalf of the Library Committee the following Minute:

"In the passing of Mrs. Luella Sinclair Olson on September 22, 1934, our Society has suffered the loss of a devoted and useful member whose interest was expressed, not in words, but in actions that have inured to the material benefit of this institution.

"A native of St. Louis, Missouri, and a resident of our community for a relatively short time until her decease, she served quietly but effectively in supplying materials and funds for the preservation of our Manuscript materials. Through her affiliation with numerous patriotic societies she secured the funds necessary for the assembling and binding of two of our most important collections, viz., the Gilmor and Williams Papers.

"Your Committee desires to present this tribute to the memory of Mrs. Olson and we request that this Minute be spread on the records of the Society and that a copy thereof be forwarded to members of her family."

President Harris introduced the speaker of the evening, Rev. William Clayton Torrence, who spoke on "Old Somerset" of the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Mr. William H. Hayward was recognized by the Chair. He moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to Dr. Torrence for his splendid paper, and stated that he had particularly enjoyed the subject as he owns an old homestead in Somerset, having come down through six generations of his family.

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QUERIES.

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In the September number of the Magazine, the article on the Proprietary Manors and Hundreds of four counties of Southern Maryland contains two omissions of Hundreds.

In Calvert County the Hundred of Hunting Creek, erected circa 1664, is not mentioned. In Charles County, the Hundred of Mattapony, erected 1670, the only Hundred in this County on the Patuxent River, extending from Indian to Mattaponi Creek, is also omitted. These additions complete the full list of the Colonial Hundreds for the several Counties mentioned in the paper.

HENRY J. BERKLEY.

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HOLLIDAY-FLEMMING: Information wanted as to ancestry of John Holliday (born about 1660), who came from Maryland to Pennsylvania about 1700. Also of Wm. Flemming who was living in Chester County, 1687, born about 1650, probably in Maryland or Virginia.

Rev. Wm. Filler Lutz,  
Ambler, Pa.

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Will exchange information about the Gardiner family of Southern Maryland. Especially interested in making a list of all descendants of original settler, Richard, and want names of last two or three generations. Also want descendants of Celment<sup>6</sup> Gardiner who led a large migration of Catholics to Kentuck about 1795.

Francis E. Old, Jr.,  
755 Cator Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

---

Wanted. Parents' names, date of birth and ancestry of Catherine Hoffman, who married Jonas Custer, Sept. 9, 1803. Marriage license recorded in Frederick County, Maryland.

Mrs. Agnes W. Storer,  
161 George St., New Brunswick, N. J.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

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*Thomas Mason, Adventurer*, by HENRY PLEASANTS, JR. John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia. [1934.] \$2.50.

This book is one of those recommended by the "Book of the Month Club." It appears to be fact dressed as fiction, an unfortunate combination for the biography of a real personage in the Revolutionary struggle. An appendix gives sources on which the story is based.

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*The Turning Wheel, the Story of General Motors through Twenty-five Years*. Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1934.

The subtitle of this volume indicates its purpose, for while it contains much valuable material concerning the development of the motor car, its main purpose is that of an advertising medium, and the main sketches are devoted to the products of the corporation in question, in spite of which it is an interesting and useful work.

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*John O'Donnell of Baltimore, his Forbears and Descendants*. Collated and compiled by E. THORNTON COOK. London, 1934.

A handsomely printed genealogy of the old Baltimore family, which could have been carried much further. A valuable addition to the genealogical section of the Library.

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